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TRAVELS

IN

TRINIDAD

DURING THE MONTHS OF FEBRUARY, MARCH, AND APRIL, 1803,

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS,

ADDRESSED TO

A MEMBER OF THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

Illustrated with a Map of the Island.

BY PIERRE F. M'CALLUM.

No power of words,
No graceful periods of harmonious speech
Dwell on my lips—the only art I boast
Is honest truth, unpolish'd, unadorn'd,—
Truth that must strike conviction to your heart!

MURPHY'S ZENOBIA.

LIVERPOOL.

PRINTED BY AND FOR W. JONES, 56, CASTLE-STREET,

And sold by LONGMAN, HURST, REES, and ORME, London and W. CREECH, Edinburgh.

1805.

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PREFACE.

THE importance of the Island of TRINIDAD, as a Commercial Settlement, may be inferred from the interest which the British Government evinced at the close of the last war, to preserve it as a part of the British Empire. Its proximity to the Spanish Main, certainly renders it an important acquisition, not less as a military depôt, than as affording an extensive demand for our manufactures. No sooner was it ceded to this country, therefore, than the attention of his Majesty's Ministers was accordingly very properly turned towards it, and plans were suggested for promoting its general improvement, by the introduction of colonial regulations, suited to the liberal and enlarged views of the British Government. These, indeed, every one, at all acquainted with the history of the Island, and the line of conduct which had been pursued by its Governors, whether British or Spanish, must know, were highly necessary. The wisdom of Mr. ADDINGTON and his Colleagues, was evinced in the choice of the person to whom this important mission was entrusted. COLONEL FULLARTON is too well known to his countrymen, by a life spent in the most active and beneficial services, both in Europe and Asia,

to stand in need of any apology for the appointment of FIRST COMMISSIONER of the Island of Trinidad, with which he was vested. That he has not succeeded in effecting that amelioration of the state of the inhabitants which was in the view of the British Ministry, is a subject of deep regret; but the causes which prevented it, I have endeavoured to detail in the subsequent Letters with impartiality and a rigid adherence to truth.

Should it be thought by any of my Readers, that, in reciting the atrocities of which the Island of Trinidad has unhappily been the theatre, I have indulged too freely the stile of asperity, I may, I trust, claim some excuse, when it is recollected that I was myself the victim of oppression. I am not sure whether I ought to apologise to my Readers for such language; the hatred which a FREE-BORN BRITON must ever bear towards a system of tyranny, will, if he have occasion to treat the subject at all, give point and energy to his language. The times in which we live demand an explicit avowal of our sentiments; and to be the spectator of a line of conduct on the part of a Brstish Governor, which would have disgraced the Tyrant of the Continent, without marking it by expressions of my most perfect hatred, was, with me, impossible.

When the publication of my TRAVELS was first announced by an advertisement in the *Liverpool Chronicle*, an attempt was made to suppress them by the friends and partizans of Colonel Picton. A letter was addressed

to the Printer of that Paper, by Joseph Marryat, Esq. of London, threatening him with a prosecution, which gave occasion to the following reply, which I inserted in the above-mentioned Paper, under date of the 12th December, 1804.

To JOSEPH MARRYAT, *Esq. New Bridge Street, London.*

SIR,

I HAVE been favored with a sight of your letter of the 6th Instant to the Printer of this Paper: and as it wholly relates to my Travels in Trinidad, I shall make no apology for addressing you in this public manner.

The uncommon interest you appear to take in every thing which affects Colonel Picton, reflects great honor on the nature of your friendship for that officer. As the Champion of a man who labours under some of the heaviest charges which the laws of England have power to punish, I cannot observe your active zeal without lamenting that such generous exertions are likely to be so unavailing, or that for the sake of the character of your discretion, you had not employed them in a more popular cause. But, is it not enough that you have become surety for Colonel Picton in the sum of 10,000l. that he shall appear to answer any bill or bills of indictment which may be found against him for *murder or*

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dency—Her peculative and plundering Excesses—Resistance dangerous—The Governor sunk in the Lap of Ease—Rosetta takes the Reins of Government into her own Hands—Her first Act of Cruelty directed towards Mrs. Griffiths and her Daughters—The Governor remonstrated with on this occasion—His romantic Reply—The illegal Execution of a Serjeant of the Royal Artillery, and a French Planter—Slaves clandestinely carried away, and the Planters plundered—General Reflections, &c. - Page 138.

LETTER XI.

Reflections on the Conduct of Governor Picton, and the Inhabitants of Trinidad, at the close of the War—Their Hopes of a Change in their political Situation—Opposition of the Governor, and an Inquiry into the Causes of it—Detail of the Circumstances respecting an Address to his Majesty on the Event of the Peace—Address prepared and signed unanimously at a Public Meeting—A considerable Number of British Inhabitants agree to celebrate the cessation of Hostilities by a Public Dinner, on the 11th of December, 1801, but are prevented by order of the Governor—Messrs. Higham, Shaw, and others, persecuted in consequence of the Address to the King—The former arrested, and thrown into Prison—Released without any Charge or Trial—Reflections on that Transaction—Conversation between Governor Picton and Mr. Higham—The Manner in which the Governor intimidated the Inhabitants, by boasting of his Influence at Home—Hints respecting the Execution of an Artillery-Man—And an Anecdote, in which the Governor asserts that his Majesty's Ministers warranted and approved of that Transaction—Reflections on so strange a Declaration—Events in December 1801, resumed, and concluded - - - - - - - - Page 156.

LETTER XII.

Picton's aversion to Lawyers and Literary Men—The Banishment of Russel Minchin, Esq. a Barrister, the supposed Author of a Placard, reflecting on Picton's Cruelties—The Placard answered by a sanguinary Proclamation—The Author narrowly watched—Reflections on his perilous Situation—A Specimen of Genera Pic-

ton's Billingsgate Elocution, particularly in the Case of Judge Nihel—Mr. Nihel abused, and dismissed from his Office—John Black promoted—Picton's congratulatory Address to Black—An Introduction to Black's Character—The ultimate Cause of Judge Nihel's Suspension elucidated—The oppressive Case of J. B. D. Savignon displayed—A Summary of a few of the Sports attributed to Picton, &c. &c. - - - - - - - Page 172.

LETTER XIII.

Case of Hugh Gallagher, executed by order of Governor Pieton, in May, 1797, reconsidered—An Account of Jean Baptiste Richard, a free Mulatto man, executed without Trial, by order of Governor Picton, in the year 1797—Fourteen Privates of the 60th Regiment, and of Hompesch Corps, executed in 1797, by order of Governor Picton, without any Form of Trial—Detail of the Case of John Baptiste Alarcon, a Spanish Sailor, executed in the month of April, 1797, by order of Governor Picton, without any Form of Trial, for a Crime commmitted on the High Seas—A Guiacaree Indian, the Sailing Captain, or Patron of a Schooner, Tortured and Shot by order of Governor Picton, without any form of Trial, in 1800—The Case of Pierre Francois, executed, December, 1801, by order of Governor Picton, for Sorcery, Divination, Knowledge of the Black Art, Poisoning by means of Charms, &c.—Bouqui, executed December, 1801, by order of Governor Picton, for Sorcery, Divination, Knowledge of the Black Art, Poisoning by means of Charms, &c.—La Fortune, executed February, 1802, by order of Governor Picton, for Sorcery Divination, Knowledge of the Black Art, Poisoning by means of Charms, &c.—Thisbe, a Negress, Tortured and afterwards Hanged, in February, 1802, by order of Governor Picton, for Sorcery, Divination, Knowledge of the Black Art, holding Converse with the Devil, Poisoining by means of Charms, &c.—Michael Gradon, executed March, 1802, by order of Governor Picton, for Sorcery, Divination, Knowledge of the Black Art, Poisoning by means of Charms, &c.—Aubinot, executed April 1802, by order of Governor Picton, for Sorcery, Divination, Knowledge of the Black Art, Poisoning by means of Charms, &c.—Prefent, a Negress, Hanged without Trial, by order of Governor Picton—Circumstance relating to Goliah, a Ne-

gro Slave, belonging to John Dawson, Esq. who died in consequence of a severe Flogging ordered by Governor Picton—Observations on the above Cases. - - - Page 187.

LETTER XIV.

REMARKS on the Situation of the Inhabitants when the First Commissioner arrived in Trinidad—His Reception and Address to the Public Functionaries—The Address misrepresented in Picton's Gazette—The Intention of it thwarted—A Proclamation to decoy the First Commissioner, to sanction the Acts of the former Governor—The Conduct of the Public Secretary in this Transaction—The Measures of the Party Defeated—Brigadier-General Picton alarmed—Orders of the First Commissioner respecting Commitments—The Alcaldes remonstrate—Proceedings of the Cabildo respecting a New Jail—The First Commissioner Visits the Old One, and the Situation in which he found it—The Executioner's Complaint, &c.—A Second Visit to the Jail, Increases Brigadier-General Picton's Jealousy—An Explanation—Reflections thereon—Brigadier-General Picton's Attempt to deprive Mr. Hargrove, Printer, of his Licence—Proceedings on the 12th of February, respecting Madame Duval—Outrageous Conduct of the Brigadier, in the House of the First Commissioner—His Apology to Mrs. Fullarton—A Parallel of the Conduct of both Commissioners—Further Proceedings in the Case of Madame Duval, and the Public Secretary Suspended - - - - - Page 202.

LETTER XV.

SCENE at the Mole—Lieutenant-General Grinfield and Commodore Hood receieved with Military Honors—The Awkwardness of the Troops, and the Embarrassment of Brigadier-General Picton—The Commodore Prejudiced against the First Commissioner—His Dream and Conduct unaccountable—Military Aid denied the Civil Power—Colonel Fullarton's Statement to the Commissioners—Brigadier-General Picton's Determination to persist in forcing Colonel Fullarton to concur in Sanguinary Measures—The Commodore's Conduct on this Occasion—The Brigadier's Intention to destroy the Criminal Records, but frustrated by Colonel Ful-

larton, who gains possession of them—Proceedings on this Occasion—Colonel Fullarton embarks on Board the Schooner Start, &c. - - - - - - - Page 221

LETTER XVI.

COLONEL Fullarton's Departure lamented—Mr. Archibald Gloster's Proclamation to the British Inhabitants—The Case of John Dawson, Esq.—His Memorial, and Brigadier-General Picton's Answer—Mr. Dawson's Character Vindicated—Colonel Fullarton's Character Aspersed by Brigadier-General Picton's Panders—Reflections thereon—The Author taken before a Military Committee, and his Conduct on that Occasion - - - Page 236.

LETTER XVII.

THE Author Arrested by an Officer of the Inquisition, and brought before Commissioners Picton and Hood—His Examination and Commitment to the Bastille—Description of the Cell in which he was confined—Also, Vallot the Governor—The Case of a Negress Roasting Alive—Transactions during the Second Day of his Captivity—Method of Flogging Slaves described—The Author Indisposed, and suspects having been Poisoned—Third Day of his Captivity—Still much Indisposed—Solicits Medical Aid—Dragged from his Cell to Commodore Hood's House—His Examination—The Ugly Club—Fourth Day's Captivity—The Imprisonment of Dr. Timbrill—Distress of Mrs. T.—— on that Occasion—Fifth Day's Captivity—Letter from Secretary Woodyear—Description of the Doctor's Cell, and Reflections thereon—Sixth Day's Captivity—Proclamation respecting the Militia—Comments—Letter to the Author—Seventh and Eighth Day's Captivity—He is Banished to America - - - - - Page 247.

LETTER XVIII.

THE Author Arrives at New York, and re-assumes an Historical Detail of the Affairs of Trinidad—Proclamation of the 27th of April—Indignant Conduct of Brigadier-General Picton—Commo-

well knew how little faith was to be placed on the promises of the Usurper, and how widely he had all along steered from the latitude of truth, should be allured by a false light, which iniquity hung out, like those on the sea-coast, to draw the unsuspecting mariner to be deceived and shipwrecked. He was decoyed into the snare by his paternal feelings; but the intrepid sons of Hayti will amply revenge his wrongs, and proclaim freedom in the Western Indies.

On the 15th, in 28°. 34′. N. lat. 62°. 30′. W. long. spoke the Recovery of Cartine, (owned by *Jonathan Avarice)* an ugly clump of a brig, whose sails resembled pocket handkerchiefs, made of tow-cloth, bound from Liverpool to Boston, N. E. with a cargo of salt, out 97 days, destitute of almost every kind of provision. Our captain very generously supplied them *(gratis)* with beef, bread, potatoes, &c. for which Jonathan "guessed he was monstrous kind," and "vowed" he would proclaim his generosity in all the papers in New England.

Probably there is not an instance on record, where a New England-man has been impeached of supplying a vessel like this, in distress, *gratis;* so strongly are their minds impregnated with avarice, that they would not give away even a gill of molasses to save the life of a fellow-creature. Our captain, on his last voyage, fell in with one of them, at a time when his stock of candles was exhausted; the New Englander let him have three at the current price of the pound, which he "guessed" was a favour.

Early on the first, we hove in sight of BARBADOES, and landed at Bridgetown about noon. This fine little Island is about 21 miles long, 14 broad, and the most easterly of all the Caribbees—situated in 59 degrees west long. and 13 degrees north lat. It was settled

soon after 1625, but what is most remarkable, in about 25 years the population increased to 50,000 whites, and in 1676, the number of Indian slaves and negroes amounted to 100,000.—Pardon me, SIR; it is not customary to enumerate beasts of burden; the former were procured in a manner more disgraceful and dishonourable, if possible, than the latter usually are. The Barbadians, or rather the Barbarians, kidnapped them in the same way the press-gangs do sailors in either London or Liverpool. The Almighty has not been unmindful of them, and to reward their wickedness, now and then treats their posterity with hurricanes, fires, and plagues! That which happened in 1780 was a most dreadful hurricane; not one house in the island was left wholly free from damage; many lives were lost; some were buried in the ruins of the buildings; others, and by far the greater number, were driven into the sea, and there perished.

The capital, Bridgetown, has been burnt four or five times. It is the seat of the Governor. The present one is Lord SEAFORTH, who, I find, is very much esteemed; nor do I wonder at it, as his Lordship has always sustained an amiable character. Every Governor is, by appointment, Chancellor of the Island, and although his Lordship is deaf, yet his decrees are so equitable as to procure the highest approbation. The town has an antique appearance; but what strikes the stranger's attention, is the number of old women, cats, and parrots. The Barbadian will not allow the Island to be in the West Indies, much less that he is either a Crab (Carribbee) or Creole, but a true Barbadian, from the circumstance of the first discover not finding any savages on it—God knows there have been plenty on it since that period. The Barbadians are said to be both friendly

and hospitable to strangers; indeed I have fully experienced the truth of it from Mr. Christopher Knight, a gentleman whose urbanity of manners, and disinterested kindness, will not be easily obliterated from my memory.

Here I parted from a fellow-passenger, whom I shall, for the present, call Dr. Sangrado, a native of North-Britain, and one of those capricious mortals who rather excite pity than contempt. He is a martyr to disappointment, and frets at every trifle. The most disagreeable concomitant about him, is what people denominate *Scotch pride*. I pity any man like him who has more of it than he well knows how to manage; enough that we found it troublesome in the confined cabin of a schooner. I never mentioned Johnson's name but it threw Sangrado into a rage—many a *de'el dom* he muttered out against him; notwithstanding, he now and then discovered lucid intervals of good humour and merriment, especially after drinking two or three glasses of wine, and telling scraps of his history. He was bred to physic, and practised in Birmingham about 1790, but an intrigue with a married lady obliged him to decamp, by which he escaped the *crim.-con.* court. He went to France some time in 1794, where he became acquainted with Munroe, the American Envoy, and Tom Paine, the Envoy of anarchy. In consequence of a quarrel that ensued between them relative to a news-paper they were about to establish, Sangrado was obliged to take French leave of his friends in Paris, and passed over to America disguised as a sailor. He has been a wanderer ever since in the West Indies and the United States. In the latter place he had made up his mind to settle the rest of his life, and, with that view, took a house about six weeks ago in New York, which he furnished *a-la-mode*; but

his house-keeper being either too proud or too lazy to mend his stockings, they quarrelled, and consequently broke up house-keeping; it is, therefore, to that proud or lazy jilt that I am indebted for his being my fellow-passenger. I have, in the course of my peregrination in the United States, met many of Tom Paine's pupils, but no one so contrite as this, for he seemed to have a just sense of loyalty and religion, and was naturally of a benevolent turn of mind.

Mr. Hugh Pownal was another of my fellow-passengers. This man was formerly a sort of Chymist or vitriol manufacturer in Southwark, and in the year 1788 or 89 eloped with Mrs. Wrighton, the actress, to France, and from thence to America. He has now with him a billiard-table, and other gambling apparatus, in order to open a house of that sort in Trinidad.

The mate, or, as the Americans say, "the chief officer" of the schooner, is a Scotchman of the name of Wylie; the same who was master of the vessel which carried me the last voyage to St. Domingo. At that time I saw himself and his owner (Thomas M'Cready) perjure themselves as black as possible. My dear Sir, perjury is no crime in America. There are many in New York who deserve the gibbet as well as M'Cready on that score, I mean covering enemies' property. The laws of America are very lenient to a man who has wealth, so it would appear when such a villain as M'Cready is suffered at large.

We left Barbadoes about noon on the following day, (2d inst.) and on the 4th, in the morning, descried TOBAGO to leeward, which is situated in 11 degrees odd min. north latitude, 120 miles south of Barbadoes, and about an equal distance from the Spanish main. It is about 32 miles long, and nine broad; the climate

delightful, and not near so hot as might be expected, considering its proximity to the equator. It boasts of numerous springs of fine water, with bays and creeks so disposed as to be very commodious for all kinds of shipping, and lies out of the reach of those hurricanes so destructive to other islands in the western hemisphere. The Dutch originally claimed this island, and obstinately defended their pretensions, against Britain and France; but by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, it was declared neutral. In 1763 it was yielded up to Britain, and remained in her possession till June 1781, when it was taken by the French, and confirmed to them by the treaty of 1783. It was retaken by the British troops in 1793, and ceded to France by the late treaty. When this treaty was signed there was not a Frenchman on the Island; the inhabitants are all British, warmly attached to the interests of their king and country, and who own all the property upon it. The inconsiderate rashness of a British minister, in a moment destined a portion of the loyal subjects of his majesty to be the slaves of a Corsican—to be plundered at the discretion of his satellites. You had great rejoicings in London on that event, but here they wore sack-cloth and ashes!

About noon we were about ten miles distant from Cape Galera, the N. E. point of Trinidad, which is laid down in long. W. 60°. 30′. and in lat. N. 10°. 45′. It bore south of us on a west course; the land gradually rises from it, and has a pleasing effect on the eye, till the sight is lost among the clouds which envelop the mountains towards the middle of the Island. Sailing along the north coast, I did not (with my glass) perceive a cultivated spot, though I am told there are some parts of it at the bottom of some of the *ravines*, which now

and then intersect the *mornes*, apparently covered with wood.

The sea between this and Tobago is very much coloured; from which appearance one would suppose soundings were to be had; on the contrary, it is owing to the muddy torrent of the Oronoque, disembogued in the gulf of Paria, and from thence coming with an impetuous issue into the sea, through the *Bocases*. It was dark before we reached the *Bocases*, and the captain deeming it dangerous to attempt the passage, we delayed to windward all night; in the morning we entered the second *Bocas*, with a fine breeze, and got safely through.

There are four Bocases:—*Bocas del Drago*, or dragon's mouthes, which divide the island of Trinidad from Point Salina, situated in Comana, in the northern division of Terra Firma, or Castile del Oro; the distance I apprehended to be from 15 to 20 miles. Without a strong breeze of wind it is impossible to stem the torrent that gushes through: vessels are frequently becalmed in the passage, and the consequence is, if they are not dashed to pieces against the rocks, they drift with the current a considerable distance, sometimes as far as the island of Margaritta. The "cloud-cap'd" mountains of Paria and Comana, rise from Point Salina much higher than those of Trinidad, so that before you enter the Bocases the confusion of nature around appears exalted in awful grandeur; which

> "Lift up the thoughtful mind from earth to heaven,"

and distend it with holy astonishment! The wind became now so feeble, that although we had only about 30 miles to run, yet it was 10 o'clock at night before we hove our anchor. The passage from the *Bocases* was tedious to

my companions, but it afforded me an opportunity of examining, at a small distance, the northern part of the bay of Paria, particularly Chaguaramus harbour, probably about ten miles further up the bay. It is capable of receiving the largest ships of war, bounded with a fine bold shore, and every where excellent anchorage, in from six to forty fathoms water. The situation has invited government to build a dock and make a navy-yard, both of which are now constructing. When the British forces attacked the island in 1797, the Spaniards burnt, on the 17th February, in this harbour, El San Vincente 84, El Gallardo 74, El Arrogante 74, El San Cecilia 36, to prevent their being taken by Admiral Harvey's squadron; but El San Damasi 74, was captured without resistance from the pusillanimous slaves.

A little farther up we passed a small island called Gaspar-Grande, on which the Spaniards had a battery constructed of masonry, to protect the harbour. It has neither solidity, nor does it answer the purpose for which it was intended.

On the 6th, (which was Sunday with you, but here I observed no trace of it) we came ashore, and were ushered by Colonel Brown into the audience chamber of *Don Thomas Picton,* ci-devant *Governardor de la Ysla Britanica de Trinidada,* where we waited like malefactors for more than an hour and a half. In the mean time I was diverted with the figure of a fine gentleman, *sui generis,* who couched and recouched himself, at other times viewing his delicate features in a looking glass; frequently grinning eastward and grinning westward, admiring his grinders; when he struted about he gabbled like a goose. This creature, thought I, must be the great man's barber, probably the very brother of Curtis's barber, or it might be the identical barber himself.

As I have not heard of him for a long time, I might have gone away under this impression, had I not heard Colonel Brown telling our Captain that his name was *M'Spriggin*, the Governor's *aid*-and-favourite. Is he in the army, then, said the Captain?—No; answered the Colonel. However, I could not divest my mind of the idea that the personage before me was still the famous barber of *city* memory. Not having time to describe him more accurately, I shall be under the necessity of referring you to—*Hotspur's Description of a Fop:*

Neat, trimly dress'd;
Fresh as a bridegroom, and his chin new reap'd,
Shew'd like a stubble land at harvest home.
He was perfumed like a milliner;
And 'twixt his finger and his thumb he held
A pouncet-box, which ever and anon
He gave his nose: and took't away again;
Who therewith angry, when it next came there,
Took it in snuff.—And still he smil'd and talk'd,
And as the soldiers bare dead bodies by,
He call'd them untaught knaves, unmannerly,
To bring a slovenly, unhandsome corse
Betwixt the wind and his nobility.
With many holiday and lady terms
He question'd me:
Being gall'd
To be so pester'd with a popinjay,
Out of my grief, and my impatience,
Answer'd neglectingly, I know not what:
For he made me mad,
To see him shine so brisk, and smell so sweet,
And talk so like a waiting gentlewoman,
Of guns, and drums, and wounds (God save the mark)
And telling me the sovereign'st thing on earth
Was parmacity, for an inward bruise;
And that it was great pity, so it was,

That villainous salt-petre should be digg'd
Out of the bowels of the harmless earth,
Which many a good tall fellow had destroy'd
So cowardly: and, *but for these vile guns*,
He would himself have been a soldier.

SHAKESPEAR.

My mind was thus occupied in contemplating the *biped* before me, and considering what would become of the creature hereafter, as *Quevedo* did not see any of the species in Hell, nor does *Linnæus* say to what class or *genus* he belongs—When

The upstart Don, the empty being of an hour, came out of his chamber—his mind

"Enrapt in thought, replete with stygian gloom,"

As his lips moved, I imagined he was repeating the following part of S***n's soliloquy:

Ah me! they little know
How dearly I abide that boast so vain,
Under what torments inwardly I groan.
While they adore me on the throne of hell,
With diadem and sceptre high advanc'd
The lower still I fall, only supreme
In misery: such joy ambition finds.
But say I could repent, and could obtain
By act of grace, &c. MILTON.

He spoke to every one present except myself; nevertheless I anticipated either a smile or a frown from him before I left his presence, or that he would wait on me to the mirador, to point out that delectable view leading to the *rectangle* *, which, I was informed before I left America, was customary with him to do to most strangers. He was so much engaged within himself

* Gallows.

as to overlook your friend *M*ᶜ———. I was not, however, afraid, even though he were a Mamouth. I confess the reports that are in circulation in America of his might are certainly terrific, which invited me to observe his countenance, and to discover if possible his emotions, while he conversed with those around him: "After all," said I, turning round to view the *Rectangle*, "virtue is the foundation of honour and "esteem, and the source of all beauty, order, and hap- "piness in nature. It is what confers value on all the "other endowments and qualities of a reasonable being, "to which they ought to be absolutely subservient, and "without which the more hideous deformities and "curses they become." "Beauty and wit will die— "learning will vanish away, and all the arts of life be "soon forgot—but virtue will remain forever*." I know not how long I might have remained in the mirador, with my eyes riveted on the rectangle, which, I am informed, is constantly guarded by a corps of Turkey-buzzards, if the captain had not bellowed out below in the street, "Holloo—Mᶜ....,—Come along."

The recent change in the government of this colony is favourable to the political and physical enquiries of a traveller; particularly with regard to the former, because the source of information is stripped of all its difficulties. Hence there is a wide field laid open, provided one had patience to pursue it. I am now about to enter this field with Shakespear's advice for my motto:

> ——————— Nothing extenuate,
> Nor aught set down in malice.

But, Sir, during the little progress I have already made, I find the path I have taken so strewed with various

* Price.

complaints of oppression, cruelty, and injustice, which have so paralyzed my feelings, that I begin to suspect the demons have transported me to some part of the Grand Turk's dominions; for surely the commission of such acts does not emanate from the feeling heart of our benign Sovereign; he is, no doubt, ignorant of the conduct of his delegate. Even though the distance is great, the groans of his subjects might have been heard long ere this—but every art has been tried to carbonise those who had spirit enough left to complain, and had given themselves over for lost, until Colonel Fullarton arrived.

We are told,

"Nimrod was a mighty hunter, and his prey was man."

So is Picton, a mighty prætor, whose knife was set in oil that it might cut the deeper, and never hesitated to engulf the reeking blade into the warm bowels of a fellow-creature, nor to pour *aqua-fortis* into the bleeding wound, in order to provoke the innocent object to a state of madness.

Human feelings cannot sustain such injuries, without being highly agitated and incensed; and if in delineating these piercing circumstances, some heated or incautious expressions should inadvertently slip from my pen, remember that agony of mind for the sufferings of my fellow-subjects, must create reprehensive language; and ought sufficiently to plead my excuse; if not, I really know not how to guard against it.

I have the honour to lodge under the same roof with the brave and distinguished veteran, Lieutenant-General GRINFIELD * and his staff, who are just arrived to

* He is since dead, and the service has to deplore the loss of an excellent officer!

review the forces stationed here. Their neglected state of discipline disgusted him the other day, though I observe a contradiction of this assertion published in Picton's Newspaper. The paltry paragraph is the production of an ————; but, if his comrades can relish it, let them enjoy the fulsome panegyric. If they will sustain so much flattery with truth and dignity!— — — Pardon me, Sir, I forgot myself: there is no living in the world without a complaisant indulgence for people's weaknesses, and innocent, though ridiculous, vanities.

VALE.

LETTER II.

*Description of Port of Spain—Its situation and inhabitants—*PICTON's *predilection for foreigners, and hatred to the British—Bay of* PARIA—ABERCROMBY TOWER *considered as a* folly—*First visit to Colonel* FULLARTON—*Black troops—The system of arming them condemned—A white population recommended, to consist of* Highlanders—*Anecdote af a* Scotch Bashaw —*The Island partly described—Its discovery—*ABORIGINES—*Visit to see them at* Arima, *and reverie under a Linden-tree.*

Head-Quarters, PUERTO DE ESPANA, *Feb.* 1803.

DEAR SIR,

PUERTO DE ESPANA, or Port of Spain, is situated about thirty miles from the *Bocas del Drago*, on the north-east side of the gulf of Paria, having a jetty quay of masonry, with a battery *en barbette*, built by the Spaniards, almost even with the water's edge, for the defence of the town on the west side. The town is laid out regularly enough, but the houses are shabby, yet admirably well adapted to roast human beings alive; environed with lofty mountains in a semicircular manner, as if the founders intended it for an oven. Contiguous to it, in a southerly direction, is the great Savanna of Caroni, a large tract of land, drowned in the rainy seasons, which renders the town unhealthy a great part of the year. A town thus situated, built in the lap of a

ramified rivulet, evinces the short sighted policy of those who projected it, as well as of those who have since governed the Island.

Orange Grove Barracks adjacent, were built since the conquest, in the lap of the same rivulet also, as if no other spot could be found than that inhospitable one within ten miles round; the consequence is, as might be naturally expected, fatal to the troops. He who ordered them to be erected on this unhealthy site, did not consider how many it would *murder!*—No; I am informed, he attended principally to the *cheese-parings* and *candle-ends!*

Perhaps there is not a local spot in the universe that can boast of such a medley of inhabitants: English, Scotch, Irish, Welch, Spaniards, Germans, Swiss, Italians, Americans, and French; the latter are the most numerous, having been particularly encouraged and regarded as favourites, you know by whom. Indeed he has encouraged all denominations to settle in preference to the British, numbers of whom have been oppressed and banished; and to convince you of his good will towards them, at a late ball, they were all, if we except one or two of his pimps, excluded. You may well anticipate his reason for this, which I take to be, they will be the more pliant in accommodating him with addresses when he is recalled, or rather when he is taken home * to be tried for the crimes alleged against him, of which

* The author was not premature in this conjecture, for we find him addressed on the 4th of June following, prior to his taking *French leave* of the colony, by 215 { 166 Foreigners. 49 British, mostly in office under him, the majority of whom were here when the Island was conquered, and on whom some pains will be bestowed in the subsequent Letters.

I mean to give you the outlines before that period, which is fast approximating.

The Bay of Paria is one of the safest and most spacious in any part of the world. It is in the form of a horse-shoe, extending above seventy miles, having a depth of water of from five to sixteen fathoms, where ships may anchor in all places within a mile of the shore in good holding ground. Abercromby Tower, situated on a height above the Port, serves as an excellent land-mark, and may be seen from the Bocases. As I learn there has been much money expended, to no purpose, on this *folly*, but to benefit some folks, I had the curiosity to examine it the other day. Ascending the height, I discovered an old tract of lava, calcined lime-stone and cinders. I traced it a considerable distance, until I arrived almost at the Tower, when I observed two craters of considerable depth, but not very wide. I threw several large stones into the cavity, and heard them rolling for ten seconds: hence I have no doubt of its having been a volcano at some period or other. I mean before I leave the Island to pay them another visit, prepared with a line to measure the depth and diameter of both. This Tower, facing the bay, is defended with something in the shape of an half-finished battery, and a few pieces of ordnance carelessly lying about dismounted, though a great quantity of stone, lime, and wood are here heaped together, and must have cost the nation a pretty penny before they were dragged up this height; I am certain it would puzzle VAUBAN, if he were alive, to discover the intent and meaning of erecting this stately pile, unless to commemorate the action of Abonkir—be this as it may, I am sure there is not such another *folly* between this and Scanderoon! Ah! John Bull! I have seen on my travels, much, too much

of thy hard earnings squandered away, on many a foolish project in this, as well as in other colonies, particularly in the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, &c. These are mere bagatelles—your generous mind revolts at inquiring after items.

I am just returned from paying my respects to the First Commissioner, Colonel FULLARTON, which something or other prevented me from doing before. A secret satisfaction unaccountably stole across my mind as I approached him, for affability was depicted on his countenance:—

> To man he pleads in truth and wisdom's cause,
> Chastises vice, deals virtue her reward,
> Supports the pulpit, and supplies the laws *.
>
> POPE.

I spent an hour with this excellent man in his study. It was the most agreeable hour I ever spent: probably I shall never experience such another, but

> 'Tis not for mortals always to be blest.
>
> ARMSTRONG.

In private and in public, no man is more deservedly esteemed;—few men will be ranked with him on the score of virtue, humanity, and benevolence, for his heart is dilated with the milk of human kindness.

> The praise that's worth ambition, is attain'd
> By sense alone, and dignity of mind.
> Virtue, the strength and beauty of the soul,
> Is the best gift of heaven: a happiness
> That even above the smiles and frowns of fate,
> Exalts great Nature's favourites: a wealth
> That ne'er encumbers, nor to baser hands

* Colonel Fullarton has been many years Member of Parliament for the shire of Ayr in Scotland.

Can be transferr'd: it is the only good
Man justly boasts of, or can call his own.
Riches are oft by guilt and baseness earn'd;
Or dealt by chance, to shield a lucky knave,
Or throw a cruel sunshine on a fool.

ARMSTRONG.

In a word, this amiable man will prove a blessing to the wretched inhabitants of this colony, consequently they will soon be as happy as they have hitherto been miserable! Experience proclaims his value, and the murmurs of discontent are rapidly vanishing away.

The sacred olive wreath shall grace his head,
That wreath, so often purchased by his care.

There are two Negro Regiments stationed here, composed of negroes taken from the French colonies, and commanded by French officers. The arming and training so many of these hirelings, after the mournful scenes and horrid barbarities of their committing we have witnessed in St. Domingo, is surely not the prudent dictates of wisdom. It has probably been done for the best intention, to save the valuable lives of Europeans; but it is like "sparing the rod and spoiling the child," and the latent seed, though benevolently sown, will yet prove a curse to the British Empire. Pray, what tie is there to bind a black hireling to be faithful to his duty? Has he that vernacular attachment, animated with the sacred flame of *amor patriæ*, that distinguish the soldiers of other free nations? No, my friend, all his actions spring from lust and brutality, without which his bosom would be an empty void. The late ferocity of one of the Negro Corps in Dominica, where they murdered their officers (mostly British, I believe), is a striking presage of their future conduct.

A worthless sort there are of human kind,
No oath can tie, no gratitude can bind.

Many of them were, you know what, in St. Domingo, &c.—Hence, devoid of every principle which distinguishes the human species from the brute creation, a ferocious excitement stimulates them to crimes, as much as the crocodiles of the Nile when they seize and devour young children. It may be asked, What has hitherto restrained them from evincing their natural propensity? I say the fear of the European troops, and nothing else.—Believe me, SIR, I tremble for the fate of the colonies, if the evil is not removed, especially as the Island of St. Domingo will, in the end, be free *.

I have heard, before I left England, some of the advocates for maintaining a Black force in the West Indies assert, that every dependance might be placed on the loyalty of the black troops, and have felt inclined to believe them like other soldiers in a relative degree; but since I have been among them in St. Domingo, where they were kept under the greatest subjection by officers of their own colour, I am fully convinced to the contrary, and look upon them, when I see them pass my window, with abhorrence. I am also convinced they do not know the meaning of loyalty. To find a Negro that does, would be as singular a phenomenon as a preposterous birth—fishes feeding on dry land—or a pregnant mule, which Naturalists, with much truth, maintain to be incapable of breeding—or even a shower of pebbles from the clouds!!—It is but justice to acknowledge how well they stand fatigue in this climate; this does not, however, create astonishment; white Creoles will stand it equally as well, because it is

* This prediction is since verified.

more congenial to their constitutions, than it is to those of the majority of Europeans; this is particularly striking and evident from the number of New Negroes who perish the first year of their importation.

With a view to prevent, or, in some degree, meliorate this calamity—I mean that of losing so many fellow-subjects—permit me, SIR, to propose a scheme, which, I apprehend, would go a great way to avert the evil you complain of, and might be carried into effect with very little expence, and maintained without difficulty, especially as there is no law to prevent the female sex from breeding in this colony.

This project I have had in view ever since I travelled in St. Domingo—it is a White Population, which ought to consist of Scotch Highlanders—a hardy race, that will vegetate in any climate, and less given to intemperance than others. I have had an opportunity of seeing them prosper in other climates, more destructive to the constitution than the climate of Trinidad *. In the East Indies, it is a well known fact that the climate agrees superiorly with them, or they agree with the climate. Here, indeed, it is more salubrious; which, in the course of my correspondence, I hope to be able to prove from physical events. Would it not be generous as well as politic, in the Government to bestow a little attention, to inquire into the present situation of the Highlanders of Scotland?—thousands of whom have been driven, as it were, to seek shelter in the United States of America. How many hundreds of them have been discharged since the treaty of Amiens, who can never look towards home but with a *tear!*—Yes, the avarice of the landholder has made them exiles!—hence, these very land-

* The swampy shores of North and South Carolina.

holders may be said to be the vital enemies of the country, for their sordidness has almost depopulated the Highlands of Scotland.

America, by her prudent foresight in cultivating the peaceful arts, has extended her philanthropic arm to embrace, from each quarter of the globe, the distressed of every nation *, whether virtuous or vicious, and where suffering humanity (to use Jefferson's language) will find *(except the million of negroes already in slavery)* a secure retreat from oppression. Thus we see the United States every day acquiring wealth and strength by the cruel rack-rented policy of the land-holders of Britain. These are lamentable facts, worthy the attention of those British patriots who extend their views to Sierra Leone, Otaheite, &c. instead of looking at home, in a corner of the Island, for suffering humanity, whose situation has been admirably depicted by the learned and pious Dr. SMITH, of Campbeltown, Argyleshire; to which, if you will pardon the digression, I shall beg leave to add a circumstance which came within my own knowledge in the early part of 1796. It is thus:—Lord ....., soon after the late war commenced, raised three Fencible battalions on his estate in the counties of Argyle and Perth, levied on his tenants and taken away like the *conscripts* in France, and carried in covered waggons, some chained, with "B..... Volunteers" painted on it! The factor or steward manages all the business. It so happened that there was an old man living on some part of the estate in the county of Argyle, who occupied a miserable hut, and a small piece of

* Since this letter has been written, the State of South Carolina has opened her ports for the introduction of slaves only, from Africa. Notwithstanding their boasted freedom, and acclamations of independence, &c. the little Island is still the seat of real liberty.

sterile ground round it, and withal very poor, but who, by some means or other, had contrived to give three sons he had, a classical education. The poor old man was ordered to appear before the Steward Bashaw, when the following conversation ensued:

Bashaw.—John, I understand you have three sons capable of bearing arms, and as my Lord wants men you must surrender them immediately.

Poor Man.—It is true I have three dutiful sons, but they have been long independent of their father. Were I so ridiculous as to make a proposition to them of this nature, I fear they would imagine my senses had left me. What, said the old man, leave their present pursuits to shoulder a musket—fye upon it!

Bashaw.—Pray, Sir, what are your sons more than those of any other of his Lordship's tenants?

A gentleman present answered the Bashaw; his eldest son, Sir, is a merchant—the second is in London, following one of the liberal professions—and the youngest is studying physic; it is not, therefore, probable that either will go to be common soldiers, to please you or their father.

Bashaw—It makes no difference; if we cannot get his sons he must provide substitutes; if not I'll eject him instantly. What business had the old fool to give any education to his children—he ought to have kept them at our disposal.

The poor old man was partial to the barren spot on which he had lived all the days of his life; and before he could think of being turned away from it, rather chose to furnish substitutes; but the second son hearing of this transaction, threatened to expose the noble Lord if he did not disavow the knowledge of those proceedings, and turn away his steward—with which his Lord-

ship thought proper to comply. I have related this circumstance merely to shew you how the Highlanders are treated by their Landlords, which forces them to emigrate: Yet those I have seen in the United States are, nevertheless, discontented, and wish themselves again on their native hills.

The advantages which would result from an industrious White Population are various, to dilate which will form a part of my future letters. At present it will be necessary to turn my attention towards describing the Island as well as I am able from the information I have already collected.

TRINIDAD is the largest and southernmost of all the Leeward Islands, measuring, as it is said, in its extreme length from east to west, 60 British miles, and from north to south 45 miles, containing 2,400 square miles, superficial measure, possessing many superior advantages over any other Island in the West Indies, and, like Tobago, without the reach of hurricanes. It was discovered by Christopher Columbus, on his third voyage, July 31, 1498, and so named from its appearance at thirteen leagues distance from the S. E. part of it, having three heads or mountains above all the rest. He found it inhabited by Caribs, who were almost all destroyed or carried away in the year 1518, when the inhuman Spaniards made captives of all the free and happy Aborigines they could find, to work their mines. What good the Catholic Religion has done for other nations I am not able to discriminate, but it has exterminated millions of inoffensive mortals in this part of the world; still priests tell us, that the light of the gospel has proved a blessing to other countries, but, alas! we see the baneful effects it has produced in the western hemisphere. Perhaps it is prudent to let the

Catholic religion alone; for, by descanting on the lamentable scenes acted by Cortez and his followers, I may stand a chance of encountering some Papal thunder, or the hurricanes of his priests, and as I wish to avoid both, I shall return to the Indians again. There are eight settlements of them in the Island, viz. Arima, Toco, Gayaco, Comana, Montserat, Savana, Grande, and Siparia. From the census taken soon after the Island was conquered in 1797, it appears there were

305 Men
401 Women
190 Boys
186 Girls

Total 1082

They are sober, peaceable, and industrious; expert in clearing land, and gave great satisfaction to those planters who employed them. Inspired with a wish to see those innocent children of Nature, I set out one morning—took the road to Arima—and reached St. Joseph de Oruna, formerly the capital, and residence of the Governor, about seven miles to the eastward, in little more than a couple of hours. Just before I approached this city, so called, (although it does not deserve the name of village *) I laid myself down under the shade of a linden-tree; feeling in my coat-pocket, I found a little volume which was given me by an amiable young lady, Miss Franks, of Philadelphia. In many of my former letters † I have had occasion to mention

* What constitutes a City in the United States of America is a Tavern and a Blacksmith's shop.

† The Letters here alluded to, contain the Author's Travels in the United States of America, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, St. Domingo, &c. which will probably be published when he is more at leisure.

this lady, who is the patroness of every thing excellent and praise-worthy—distinguished for intelligence, modesty, virtue, and religion—is indeed an ornament of the American fair, and to the nicer sensibilities of the heart adds the grateful garb of humanity. *" Who can " estimate female worth?—Who can be indifferent to the " charms of female excellence?"*—Under Mr. Hastead's roof, in the woods near Perth-Amboy, I spent the most agreeable part of the last summer, in the company of this lady and the Miss Hastead's, equally amiable. To perceive them vying with each other in expressions of filial affection, smoothing the brow of declining years, and diminishing the burden accumulated by the decriptitude of age, might gratify the benevolence of an angel. To their lot (especially the youngest) had fallen no uncommon share of beauty—their tempers were sweet—and their minds were improved by a suitable education. When at leisure we rambled through the woods; but every morning we hailed the rising sun, and our spirits were exhilarated by contemplating the beauties of nature. The mocking bird entertaining us with variety of notes—the song of joy and the laugh of mirth were heard among us—but the period of departure surprised me by its sudden arrival—and I bade the happy family adieu, not without the tenderest sentiments of regret—yes, to exchange those peaceful shades,

(For) distant climes, a dreary scene,
Where half the convex world intrudes between,
Through torrid tracks with fainting steps (I) go,
Where wild Altama murmurs to their woe.
Far different there from all that charm'd before,
The various terrors of that horrid shore;
Those blazing suns, that dart a downward ray,
And fiercely shed intolerable day;

Those matted woods, where birds forget to sing,
But silent bats in drowsy clusters cling;
Those pois'nous fields, with rank luxuriance crown'd,
Where the dark scorpion gathers death around;
Where at each step the stranger fears to wake
The rattling terrors of the vengeful snake;
Where crouching tigers wait their hapless prey,
And savage men, more murd'rous still than they;
While oft in whirls the mad tornado flies,
Mingling the ravag'd landscape with the skies;
Far different these from every former scene,
The cooling brook, the grassy vested green,
The breezy covert of the warbling grove,
That only shelter'd thefts of harmless love.

GOLDSMITH.

Miss Franks and the amiable sisters have often recurred to my mind—their private and social virtues press forcibly on my heart—may their days and nights be without a cloud—and, when they quit this troubled theatre, may they be admitted *ad patres*, clothed in robes of immortal beauty, is the prayer of their grateful friend, &c.

GOD
foun

LETTER III.

Reverie continued—The present state of the Indians of Arima—*Census of the Colony in* 1797—*Natural History of the Orange and Tamarind Trees—Of the Grape, Indian Corn, and Cocoa—Ancient and Modern method of making Chocolate, together with its Medicinal Virtues.*

Head-Quarters, PUERTO DE ESPANA, *Feb.* 1803.

DEAR SIR,

I FINISHED my last letter just as I had stretched my wearied limbs under the fragrant shade of the hospitable linden-tree, with the little volume still unopened in my hand, thinking on the many happy hours that glided away during my delightful solitude in the woods near Perth-Amboy. Why did I refuse those who wished, nay entreated me, to take up my abode with the Dryades?

> But me, not destined such delights to share,
> My prime of life in wandering spent and care,
> Impell'd, with steps unceasing, to pursue
> Some fleeting good, that mocks me with the view;
> That, like the circle bounding earth and skies,
> Allures from far, yet, as I follow, flies;
> My fortune leads to traverse realms alone,
> And find no spot of all the world my own.
>
> GOLDSMITH.

ceeded on my journey, I imagined I traced the footsteps of Sir Walter Raleigh, who was here two hundred and eight years ago, employing his genius and risking his life to enhance the dignity and splendour of his country. The reward he met with is an encouragement for me to study Cocker. In contemplating the life of this immortal ornament, who lived for his country rather than himself, we must be fully impressed with the truth of this maxim, "That ambition, however "honourably displayed, is seldom the path that leads "to private felicity." How beautifully the benign poet delineated the character of this great man*:

Who can speak
The numerous worthies of the maiden-reign?
In Raleigh mark their every glory mix'd;
Raleigh! the scourge of Spain! Whose breast, with all
The Sage, the Patriot, and the Hero burn'd;
Nor sunk his vigour when a coward-reign
The Warrior fetter'd, and at last resign'd,
To glut the vengeance of a vanquish'd foe.
Then active still, and unrestrain'd his mind,
Explor'd the vast extent of ages past,
And with his prison hours enrich'd the world;
Yet found no times, in all the long research,
So glorious or so base as those he prov'd
In which he conquer'd, and in which he bled.

THOMSON.

I banished these reflections with an involuntary tear to the memory of Raleigh, occasioned, in some degree, by my assimilated situation. To be brief, I arrived at Arima: here I familiarized myself with these innocent creatures: I envied their situation, and their harmless minds; yet, on the other hand, pitied the blindness of

* Mavor's Nepos.

their ideas, which were so modulated as to suit the machinations of their teachers. In this, as well as in the rest of the settlements, there is a Catholic Missionary, who has the care of their souls, and stiles himself their "Moral Preceptor,"—"the immediate Agent of the "Omnipotent God," and "the Purifier of Souls," &c. The ascendancy he has over them is astonishing. They may be truly said to be priest-ridden, for they undergo the most rigid discipline. They are encouraged in their zeal with a view of supporting a species of slavery, which facilitates the devotion of their persons (I mean the females) to the service of their religious guides. If any of them, among the tribe, violate the seventh commandment, they are excommunicated; the privilege of violating it is reserved to themselves. A number of the most comely of the females, from the age of fourteen to nineteen, are taken into the holy father's house, whom he nourishes and cherishes until some swain makes an overture of marriage to them. Should the holy father approve of the match, the ceremony is immediately performed, and he then delivers the nymph to her swain "a very woman and a very wife." I was not surprised to find a seraglio in this corner of the world, though kept by a pecuniary retailer of absolution and a purifier of souls! But who could resist charms powerful enough to seduce even *Ulysses* himself from his mast, and actually subdue the apetites of *Seneca*, though not his reason? Here the old goat of Piccadilly might feast forever! And here, indeed, as well as in other Roman Catholic countries, the priests endeavour to defeat human reason, and throw a dark veil over truth.

The following table will shew you the progress the Spaniards made in the population of this Colony during very near three hundred years possession:

	WHITES.	COLOUR.	SLAVES.	
Men -	924 .	1196 .	4164	
Women	590 .	1624 .	3505	
Boys -	301 .	895 .	1232	
Girls -	266 .	751 .	1108	
	2,081	4,466	10,009	—Total 16,556.

I find by a report laid before Parliament on the 19th May, that during that period about 400 lots, 128,000 acres have been granted by the Spanish government; but there is only a small portion of those grants under cultivation. Such apathy originates in a great degree from their baneful laws, so corrosive to human happiness, and destructive to the efforts of industry.

Probably no Island in the universe is more fertile. It produces grapes and oranges of the most exquisite flavour—citrons, lemons, &c. The *Aurantium*, or orange-tree, according to Linnæus, is a species of *Citrus*, or citron-tree, which grows here in great abundance, wearing a continual verdure, and bearing at the same time a fragrant bloom of flowers and a diversity of fruit, some in their infant state, and others in their full maturity. It is a genus of the order of *Icosandria*, belonging to the *Polyadelphia* class, being the second order of the eighteenth class. The caylx is a very small deciduous perianthium, formed one leaf, plane the base, and divided into five denticulations at the top; the corolla consists of five oblong, plane, patent petals. The fruit is called a berry, covered with a thick fleshy rind; the pulp being formed into vesicles, and having nine cells, in each of which there are two and sometimes three seeds, of a sub-oval figure, and callous substance.

Of this genus Linnæus distinguishes no more than two species:—1st, The Citrus with linear petioles, comprehending the citron and lemon-trees.—2d, The Citrus with winged petioles, or the orange-tree. Hence the citron, lemon, and orange-trees were reckoned three distinct genera of plants by former botanists. Linnæus however, only reckons two species of the same genus. He makes the lemon-tree a variety of the citron-tree. The first of these species is originally a native of Media, Assyria, and Persia, and the second species of India, they were first brought to Europe by the Portuguese. It is said that the very first China orange-tree, which was so called from having been originally brought from China, and from which variety of the orange-tree, all the European trees of the same sort have been propagated, is still preserved at Lisbon. This is very probable, because the trees of this genus are found to be the longest lived plants, perhaps, of any other; several of them have been kept in gardens near three hundred years, and even then retained the appearance of their youthful vigour. There are several varieties from each of the two species. Seville in Spain gives a name to a variety of the orange-tree, which is celebrated for the agreeable acidity of its juice. In the West India Islands they pay no attention to them, consequently their fruit is not to be compared to the fruit of Spain and Portugal, where they are made an article of commerce.

The Grape, which is so delicious in this Island, might find ample range for cultivation on the side of the mountains, and might produce wine of the quality of Madeira. I should recommend the experiment, but the experimental planter is not to be found in the Island, unless Colonel Fullarton (who I believe is fond of the study) promote it, the point will not be ascertained.

The Vine, according to the system of Linnæus, constitutes a genus of the order of the *Monogynia*, belonging to the *Pentandria* Class, being the first order of the fifth class. The calyx is a very small perianthium, divided into five parts; the corolla consists of five small deciduous petals; the stamina are five awl-shaped filaments, erect, patent, and deciduous; the antheræ are simple, and the germen is oval; there is no style; the stigma is obtuse and capitated; the fruit is a large round berry, containing only one cell; the seeds are five, and are osseous, semi-orbicular, but turbinated, cordated, and narrow at the base.

He distinguishes seven species, but of those none is cultivated for use, except the common vine; of which, however there are many varieties. It is a native of Asia, where there are four or five species of large grapes. The vines are disposed on raised works of lattice, which form so many arbours, under which the natives enjoy a refreshing shade, but are not so well acquainted with the culture and management of it, or the method of conducting the process of a vintage, as the French and Portuguese.

The Tamarind-tree is common. This tree bears a tart agreeable fruit, sometimes called Dates, and sometimes called the Indian Acacia. The bark of it resembles an Ash or Walnut-tree, but its leaves those of the female Fern; its flowers are joined eight or ten together, similar to those of the orange-tree; its fruit is in a pod about the length of one's finger, but somewhat thicker, covered at first with a green rind, which afterwards becomes brown, and contains a blackish acid pulp, among which are found seeds, resembling lupines. This pulp is used in medicine, being a gentle laxative, cooling, and proper to quench thirst; hence, very serviceable in burning

fevers, a common complaint in tropical climates; tamarinds are also good in diarrhœas, and are much commended in a flux of the hæmorrhoids, from a billious and acrimonious blood.

Formerly Maize or Indian Corn, was cultivated here in such quantities as not only to supply their own consumption, but that of the Island of Margaritta, and other places. The ear of this corn is certainly a great natural curiosity. It is generally from eight to ten inches, and sometimes a foot long, consisting of several rows of grain, commonly nine or ten, according to the goodness of the soil, each row containing about forty grains; but, in Tercera, one of the Azores or Western Islands, I have seen ears which commonly measured thirty inches, with twelve rows of grain. The ear is wonderfully clothed by the agency of the Almighty Being. He, indeed, is incomprehensible, but without him it is impossible for any thing to be intelligible, and when, as an intelligent author observes *, his interposition is once supposed, it is easy to conceive the possibility of producing all things. He alone was capable of forming the matter which constitutes all bodies, and none but himself could extract out of this matter several elements, each of which is perpetually the same, although their different combinations form an infinite variety of bodies. The Almighty then, in the plenitude of his wisdom, has furnished the generality of seeds with a covering of wood, and has not thought it proper to afford one of equal strength to the substance of fruits, which in reality is no more than a covering or defence to the seed. His wisdom and special care are manifest, when we examine the care he has taken, by

* J. Baptiste de Breval

enclosing some particular fruits in a light skin, others in a solid bark. Observe the Chesnuts which are designed the food of whole nations, they are still better fortified; if they were not, the little birds would destroy them in their infant state; therefore to preserve them from such insults, nature has shagged their out-side with prickles; and if we are indulged in a modest attempt to discover the reason of such a proceeding, we may clearly perceive how it intimates to us such a precaution, as their delicate food would attract all the birds, and would deprive man of their advantages, did not their shaggy prickly cover prevent those animals from injuring them with their bills. The ear of this corn is armed with a strong thick husk, which not only defends it from heavy and unseasonable rains, but in other parts where it is cultivated, from the night colds, and from birds that would prey upon it in its tender state. Its stalk grows to the height of eight or ten feet, more or less, according to the state of the soil in which it is sown. In the states of Virginia and Maryland, the militia commonly use them instead of muskets. It was to me a truly ludicrous scene to see them exercise with these mock guns. What a happy thing would it be for the human race, if other nations would, in future, adopt their example, and make war with corn stalks only?—One thing, however, is certain, that the Corsican Usurper could never mount the throne of France with a corn-stalk!

The manner of planting it is in parallel rows about four feet asunder, and continued regularly in the manner of a hop-ground. When it is grown up to a proper height, they cut up the weeds and loosen the earth about it, with a broad hoe, repeating it as often as the weeds make the labour necessary. When the stalk

begins to grow high, a little earth is drawn about it; and upon the sprouting of the ear, as much earth is scraped up as will make a little hill, like a hop-hill; after which no farther trouble is necessary till harvest. In the United States of America they use the plough, and plant it similar to the manner we plant and cultivate potatoes. The husks that grow about the ear, I have observed in my former Travels, the Indian women slit into narrow slips; and weave them into curious baskets of various fashions. The natives of the United States are remarkably fond of the maize, and, when ground, they make it into mush and hommony, and eat it with molasses. The young ears they boil, and eat off the corn; sometimes with butter, and sometimes with molasses; at other times they roast it; so that in the season, which is about July and August, your ears are assailed every evening in the towns, with the cries—"*Hot Corn*, "*Roast Corn*," &c. We ought, however, to offer up our gratitude to the great Author of Nature, for a nourishment the most perfect of its kind, and whose production is most easily accomplished.

We are informed by ALCEDO, that this colony produced Cacao or Cocoa, equally as good as that of the province of Caracca, which is esteemed the best by the Spaniards; and Father JOSEPH GUMILLA adds, that the traders preferred it to the latter, but says, "the "plantations, or cocoa walks, have been so neglected "since the year 1727 that there are scarcely any left on "the Island." This chocolate nut tree is found in several parts of the West Indies, but nowhere so plentifully as on the coast of Caraccas. It resembles our dwarf apple-tree both in body and branches, but the leaf, which is of a deep green, is considerably broader and larger. The nuts you have seen; they are of the

colour, and about the size of an almond, and hang fifteen or eighteen together by a slender stringy film, inclosed in a pod shaped like a cucumber, but pointed at the upper end. A ripe pod is of a beautiful yellow, intermixed with crimson streaks; when dried it shrivels up and changes to a deep brown; the juice squeezed from the mucilaginous pulp contained in the husk of these nuts appears like cream, and has a very grateful taste of a cordial quality; the nut is said to be so nutritious that an ounce of them contains more real nourishment than a whole pound of beef. I know not how far this is correct, but a French physician of long practice at Cape François, in the Island of St. Domingo, informed me, that he found it a very efficacious regimen after fevers; particularly in cases of debility occasioned by the climate. The tree is difficult to cultivate, because the climate it grows in is so hot that, to protect it from the great influence of the sun, they plant it in the shade of another tree, called the Mother of Cacao. The profit arising from the fruit is so considerable that we are told some of the plantations in the Caraccas yield annually 5000l. Sterling. In many parts of the Spanish dominions the nuts are used by the natives as money, twelve or fourteen being esteemed equivalent to a Spanish real, or about sevenpence *.

There is another account of this tree in Howard's Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, which, as it is an article of Commerce, ought to be generally known, and the virtues of its fruit widely promulgated; more especially as it supports my plan for a White Population in this Island, and supercedes the slavery of negroes.

* Beauties of Nature and Art Displayed, in a Tour through the World, 14th vol.

Cacao Nuts have a light agreeable smell, and an unctuous, bitterish, roughish (not ungrateful) taste; those of Nicaragua and Caracca are the most agreeable and are the largest; those of the French Antilles and our American Islands are the most unctuous. All sorts, thoroughly comminuted and committed to press, yield a considerable quantity of fluid oil, of the same general qualities with those obtained from other seeds and kernels; boiled in water they give out a large proportion, half the weight or more, of a sebaceous matter, which gradually concretes upon the surface as the liquor cools. For obtaining this product to the best advantage, the Faculty of Paris, had directed the nuts to be slightly roasted in an iron pan, cleared from the rind and germ, levigated on a hot stone, then diluted with a proper quantity of hot water, and kept in a warm bath till the oil rises to the top, which, when concreted, looks brown, and, by repeated liquifactions in hot water, becomes white. This vegetable serum is not liable to grow rancid by long keeping, and hence recommended as a basis for odoriferous unguents, and the compositions called Apoplectic Balsams. The principal use of these nuts is for the preparation of the dietetic liquor Chocolate, a mild unctuous fluid, supposed to be serviceable in consumptive disorders, emaciations, and an acrimonious state of the juices in the first passage.

What renders the fruit of this tree most famous is its being the principal ingredient in chocolate, a name given to a drink prepared from a kind of cake or confiture prepared from that nut, of a dusky colour, soft and oily, usually drank hot, and esteemed not only an excellent food, as being very nourishing, but also a good medicine; at least a diet for keeping up the warmth of the stomach and promoting digestion.

The Original Manner of making Chocolate is the very simple method made use of by the Indians. They only used cacao-nut, maize, and raw sugar, as expressed from the canes, with a little achiotl * or rocou *, to give it a colour; of these four drugs ground between two stones, and mixed together in a certain proportion, they make a kind of bread, which serves them equally for solid food and for drink; eating it when hungry, and steeping it in hot water when thirsty.

Method of making Chocolate now in use, among the Spaniards of Mexico:—The fruit being gathered from the cacao-tree, is dried in the sun, and the kernel taken out, and roasted at the fire in an iron pan pierced full of holes; then pounded in a mortar; then ground on a marble stone with a grinder of the same matter, till it be brought to the consistence of paste, mixing with it more or less sugar as it is more or less sweet. In proportion as the paste advances, they add some long pepper, a little achiotl, and, lastly, vanilla: some add cinnamon, cloves, and anise; and those who love perfumes, musk and ambergris. The newest chocolate is esteemed the best, the drug never keeping well above two years, but usually degenerating much before that time. It is to be kept in brown paper, put up in a box, and that in another, in a dry place †.

To this account I am tempted to add another, which you will find more explicit and satisfactory: Chocolate,

* Achiotl, or Achiotte, in botany, a name given by some authors to the *Uraca* or *Ornotto*, called by other writers *Orleana* and *Orellana*. It is used chiefly in dying, but esteemed by physicians a good preservative against retention of urine. In grinding of the cacao, add the quantity of two drams to a pound, to give it a reddish colour, &c.

† Howard's Dictionary of Arts and Sciences.

a factitious substance, first brought from America about the beginning of the year 1600. Some dissolve the substance in water, others in milk, and others in wine; but water seems to be the best vehicle for it, as the most proper to distribute its nutritive parts, and promote digestion. The consumption of chocolate makes it chiefly proper for persons of cold constitutions, for old people, for those who have their strength impaired by repeated watchings, and for those who travel in cold mornings. As it is of an oily and tenacious nature, Dr. Cheyne thinks it should not be used by the weak and infirm either as an aliment or a medicine; but he grants that it may produce all the effects of a salutary food in vigorous and strong constitutions. It is confirmed by the experience of many physicians, that in hectic, scorbutic, and catarrhous disorders, chocolate is a wonderful remedy, having wrought a cure after all other means had proved ineffectual. Hoffman affirms, that chocolate prepared with water contributes much to the cure of melancholic disorders arising from a too weak and lax state of the nerves, especially if we add to it a few drops of essence of amber. Dr. Stubbs, in the Philosophical Transactions, affirms (and Dr. James is of the same opinion), that well prepared chocolate is an excellent diet for those who are scorbutic, afflicted with the stone or arthritic pains, and to prevent convulsions; yet some of the best physicians have observed, that drinking chocolate to excess contributes to the formation of stones, especially in the gall-bladder: It is, however, agreed, that a man in perfect health may drink as much chocolate as he has appetite for, provided he finds himself refreshed, and his stomach not overloaded. In hot and sanguine constitutions the immoderate use of this liquor, by

inspissating the blood, and rendering it less fit for circulation, produces inflammations of the viscera, fevers, and apoplexies. On account of the quantity of sugar that enters the composition of chocolate, it ought to be avoided by those who are subject to hypocondriac flatulencies; and the disadvantages arising from the immoderate use of this drink, considered as prepared with warm water, must be plain to every one who reflects that the frequent use of warm water relaxes the organs of digestion, and the solids in general, and must consequently prove pernicious. It is said that in New Spain there is such a quantity of chocolate made as to use annually twelve millions of pounds of sugar*.

Believe me, very sincerely,

Yours, *&c.*

* Beauties of Nature and Art Displayed, in a Tour through the World.

LETTER IV.

Wonderful interposition of Providence in procrastinating the Author's Life—Estimate of the Arable Lands in Trinidad—Exports for the Years 1799, 1800, *and* 1801—*Reason why so diminutive—The Natural Histories of the Cotton and Coffee Trees, with their Medicinal Virtues.*

Head-Quarters, PUERTO DE ESPAÑA, *Feb.* 1803.

BUT let us try these truths with closer eyes,
And trace them through the prospect as it lies:
Here for a while my proper cares resign'd,
Here let me sit in sorrow for mankind;
Like yon neglected shrub at random cast,
That shades the steep, and sighs at every blast.

GOLDSMITH.

DEAR SIR,

THAT excellent Divine, Dr. BLAIR, has somewhere observed, that if we believe in GOD at all as the Governor of the Universe, we must believe that without his Providence nothing happens on earth—that there is not a day of our life, nor an event in that day, but was foreseen by HIM, who brings forward every thing that happens in its due order and place. To elucidate this I must stoop to egotism; but really in this instance I cannot resist the temptation, as it will teach me in future not to repine at whatever afflictions Providence may inflict on me. To do this I must recur a few months back.

In the evening I began to reflect on the mysterious ways of Providence, and was now more than ever convinced, that there is often a hereafter in the course of our present lives which discloses and justifies the ways of God. Mystery and darkness, therefore, must of necessity take place in the course of things. Our present state can be no other than a state of twilight or dawn, where dubious forms shall often present themselves to us, and where we shall find ourselves in a middle condition between complete light and total darkness. Had we enjoyed no evidence of a just Judge ruling the earth, and of his Providence interposing in our affairs, virtue would have been altogether deprived of its encouragement and support. Had the evidence, on the other hand, been so strong as to place the hand of the Almighty constantly before our eyes, the intention of our present existence would have been defeated, and no trace of virtue have remained. Instead, therefore of complaining of the obscurity which at present covers the conduct of Providence, we see that, on the whole, we have reason to submit and adore *. Had not the Almighty afflicted me with this fever, I should have embarked in the above-mentioned Brig, and consequently would have shared the same fate; but for some wise purpose or other my life was preserved—probably to bring the crimes of a second Nimrod before the face of day!——Graham was a native of Knapdale, in the county of Argyle. He had been the greatest part of last war Commander of a Revenue vessel at New Providence, and acquired a handsome fortune by captures; but it is in such hands as his relatives will never make honest.

* Dr Blair.

The following statement, though not perfectly accurate, will, however, tend to give you an idea of the portion of land capable of cultivation:

		ACRES.
1513	Lots suitable for Sugar -	420,160
945	—— —— — Coffee -	302,400
158	—— —— — Cotton -	50,560
304	—— —— — Cocoa -	97,280
Total 2720	Total	870,400 Acres.
Deduct 400	Lots already granted by the Spanish government	128,000
2320	—So that the Crown now holds - -	742,400 Acres.

Of the above 400 lots I find an inconsiderable number only under cultivation, which will be seen from the following view of the exports to Britain for three years:

YEAR.		QUANTITY. *Cwt.* *qr.* *lb.*	DUTY. *£.* *s.* *d.*		
1799	Sugar	26,728 0 0	24,146 9 1		
1800	-	54,515 2 6	41,322 12 2		
1801	-	69,551 0 20	57,568 6 10		
				£. 123,037	8 1
		Gallons.			
1799	Rum	104	2 7 6		
1800	-	3,018	69 7		
1801	-	19,537	447 14 7		
				519	9 1
		Cwt. *qr.* *lb.*			
1799	Coffee	1,898 1 15	365 8 6		
1800	-	4,357 3 4	838 17 3		
1801	-	3,327 2 18	638 0 10		
				1,842	6 7
		Lbs.			
1799	Cotton	1,403,290			
1800	-	863,987			
1801	-	1,289,573			
				£.	

As I cannot get admittance to the Custom-house books, I am unable to give you an account of what is exported to the United States and other parts; but I know it to be considerable, for this reason, that the majority of the planters are so much involved in England—(old arrears, contracted before they ran away from other Islands)—that it is their interest to send their produce to the United States. One planter, particularly, of the name of L····, formerly of Antigua, stands, I am certain, as conspicuous as *Fifty Thousand Pounds Sterling*, in the ledger of the late John K····n, Esq. of Lime-street, London *. But, as my subsequent correspondence will treat of such characters, I beg leave, for the present, to lay them aside, to pursue a different enquiry. I say, they consider it their interest to export the whole of their produce to the United States, whence they draw their supplies, instead of sending it to the Mother country, to whom it is legally due; hence the benefit accruing from this colony is comparatively small, as you will observe by the above statement.

The loss—for I consider it a real loss—is the baneful manœuvre of the late Governor and Council, the major part of whom stand in the same predicament with

* "An honest man's the noblest work of God."

Mr. K----n was upwards of fifty years an eminent merchant in London. Without exaggeration, he was a man of real worth, and added lustre to the character of a British merchant. An incorruptible integrity marked his characteristic features to his latest moment. He died at Bath much lamented by all who knew him, some time in the latter end of 1798. I was abroad when I heard of his death, but I did then, what I do now, bestow a sigh to his memory.—To apply the words of POPE,

> Worth makes the man, and want of it the fellow;
> The rest is all but leather or prunello.

L····, and may well be said to be a disgrace to human nature. Permit me to lay them also aside—they shall be attended to in due time. It is high time this predatory proceeding should be exhibited, which aims at so manifest an injury to Great Britain, and therefore ought to be stopped in this, as well as in other colonies; more particularly in Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, &c. provinces that hang as it were, like a millstone about the neck of Britain *.

It appears, by these returns of the Exports of this colony, that Cacao is not cultivated, and but little Cotton, although the most seducing article of cultivation in the West Indies. Formerly it was not so lucrative as other articles, yet of late years we see what immense returns it has made to the planter, particularly in the Carolinas. Its returns are much quicker than any other article of West India produce; and it requires

* It may not be amiss to notice, in this place, a notorious instance, of which I had ocular demonstration, and which confirms the opinion Dr. Johnson advanced, that, "A merchant's desire is not of "glory, but of gain—not of public wealth, but of private emolument." In the summer of 1800 I lodged in the City Tavern, Philadelphia. Two merchants, one of the name of M'T——, and the other of H——, arrived there from Canada, to fit out on of their annual ships for China; this is done under the veil of a Mercantile House in Philadelphia for so much per cent; the finest and best *furs* of Canada are brought by land and water carriage, and shipped on board; the return cargo is smuggled into Canada, by which the revenue of Britain is plundered, and we are deprived of other concomitant advantages. I heard M'T. boasting, that he could undersell the British India goods, and supply the whole of Canada. This I found, in the further progress of my travels, to be, literally, a fact!—Yes, it is a painful fact, when it is considered that 700,000l. is taken from Great Britain annually, to support the establishment of Canada.

fewer hands, fewer buildings, and less labourers. The soil of the south-east side of the Island is congenial to the cultivation of it to a great extent; it is moreover very healthy, and, in my humble opinion, well adapted for a White Settlement. I have seen some beautiful samples of the cotton that grows here, which I pronounce equal, if not superior to the texture of that which grows on the Sea Islands.

Gossypium, or Cotton, is a genus of the polyandria order, belonging to the monodelphia class of plants, and, in the natural method, ranking under the thirty-seventh order, *Columniferæ*. The calyx is double, the exterior one trifid; the capsule quadrilocular; the seeds wrapt up in cotton wool. There are four species, all of them natives of warm climates:—1. The *Herbaceum*, or common herbaceum cotton, hath an herbaceum smooth stalk, two feet high, branching upwards; five lobed smooth leaves; and yellow flowers from the ends to the branches, succeeded by roundish capsules full of seeds and cotton.—2. The *Hirsutum*, or hairy American cotton, hath hairy stalks branching literally two or three feet high; palmated, three and five lobed hairy leaves; and yellow flowers, succeeded by large oval pods furnished with seeds and cotton.—3. The *Barbadense*, or Barbadoes shrubby cotton; hath a shrubby stalk branching four or five feet high, three-lobed smooth leaves, glandulous underneath, and yellow flowers, succeeded by oval pods, containing seeds and cotton.—4. The *Arborecum*, or tree cotton; hath an upright woody perennial stalk, branching six or eight feet high; palmated, four or five lobed smooth leaves, and yellow flowers, succeeded by oval pods filled with cotton. The first three are annual, but the fourth is perennial both in root and stalk. The culture of cotton

begins in March and April, and continues during the spring rains. Holes are made at seven or eight feet distance from each other, and a few seeds thrown in; when they are grown to the height of five or six inches all the stems are pulled up, except two or three of the strongest; these are cropped twice before the end of August, and sometimes sooner, according to the planter's judgment. Precaution is the more necessary, as the wood bears no fruit before the period of pruning; and if the shrub were suffered to grow more than four feet high, the crop would not be greater nor the fruit so early gathered. The same method is continued for three years, for so long the shrub may continue, if it cannot conveniently be renewed oftener with the prospect of an advantage that will compensate the trouble. New lands and a western exposure are fittest for it. When the fruit is ripe they burst open with the influencial heat of the sun: the down is separated from the seed by a sort of mill, which, being worked by the motion of a wheel, makes the cotton fall on the one side, and the seed on the other. The seed is reckoned good in disorders of the kidneys and liver, but prejudicial to the head and stomach. They are also esteemed excellent for a cough or difficulty of breathing, and serviceable in the stone and dysentery, for by their lenitive quality they obtund the acrid and exulcerating humours. The oil expressed from the seed removes spots of the skin and cures running sores of the head; the wool, burnt and reduced to powder, is sometimes put into wounds to stop the effusion of blood.

The next article in succession is the *Coffee-tree*; in botany a genus of the pentandria monogynia class of plants, the flower of which consists of a single funnel-shaped petal; the tube is cylindrical and slender, many

times longer than the cup: the limb is plane, being longer than the tube, and divided into five segments of a lanceolated figure, with their edges bent backwards; the fruit is a round berry, with an umbilicated point; the seeds are two, of an elliptico-hemispheric figure, gibbose on one side, plane on the other, and wrapped up in a membrane. This beautiful evergreen is a native of Arabia Felix; it generally rises to the height of seven or eight feet, and sometimes twelve, with a trunk from twelve to seventeen or eighteen inches in circumference; it is covered with a grey smooth bark, and shoots out, through the whole length of the stem, a growth of branches, which are always opposite to each other; the leaves resemble those of the bay-tree, and are ranged in the same manner; from the bottom of these spring fragrant white flowers, very nearly resembling those of the jessamine, of which some esteem the coffee-shrub a species; when the flowers fall they leave a small fruit behind, green at first, but reddens as it ripens, and not unlike a hard cherry both in shape and colour; from two to five of these berries grow together on the same part of the twig, each covered with a tegument or husk, enclosed in another tegument which contains two seeds or kernels called coffee. In the month of May the fruit is gathered by shaking the tree, the fruit falling on cloths spread underneath to receive it; it is then laid on mats to dry in the sun, and the outer tegument is crushed by drawing rollers of wood or iron over them, after which the berries are exposed a second time to the sun, and sifted clean for use or sale. The outer teguments are not wasted, for the slaves wash them and make a drink of them, which has a little tartness, and is esteemed pleasing as well as cooling.

The trees are propagated by seeds when perfectly ripe, and are disposed of in nurseries, to be transplanted at leisure. A rich mould is required for them, and they thrive best about the bottom of mountains, and on little hills which are moist and shady; but in St. Domingo I have seen artificial canals cut from rivers or springs to conduct, in times of drought, little streams of water to their roots, which is the chief and laborious part of their cultivation. You have no doubt seen an octavo treatise which Dr. Benjamin Mosely, published in London in 1785, on the properties and effects of coffee, and since translated into every language of Europe. It went, I think, through five editions in England; the first three within the space of a few months. To the second edition of that popular dissertation was prefixed a Preface, no less praised for its diction than for the agricultural, commercial, and political remarks contained in it, relative to the subject of the treatise. For a botanical description of it, see an accurate account collected and published in 1774 by Mr. Ellis. The first account we have of it as a beverage is from HOMER in his Odyssey, supposed to be the νηπενθος which Helen received from an Egyptian lady, and which the immortal bard celebrates as a soother of the mind, in the most eminent state of anger, grief, and misfortune. Some authors ascribe the origin of its use to a Prior of an Arabian monastery, who being informed that the goats sometimes browzing on the tree would keep awake and caper all night long, became curious to prove its virtue, and gave coffee to the monks to prevent their being drowsy at their nocturnal devotions. Others again refer the invention to the Persians, from whom it was introduced at Aden, in Arabia, by the Dervises of that city, a sort of Mahometan monks,

who drank it when they spent the night in prayer. From Aden its influence spread through all Arabia, and was introduced at Constantinople in the reign of Solyman the Great in the year 1554. About an hundred years afterwards it was adopted at London and Paris. It was first introduced to the latter by M. Thevenot, and in the former by Pasqua, a Greek servant to Mr. Edwards, a Turkey-merchant, in 1652, who first set up the profession of Coffee man. The only thing remarkable in this great and valuable article of commerce, is the opposition it met with in Europe. Some ignorant quacks, or Turkish doctors, declared it to be spirituous, and almost as intoxicating as wine itself, which their law forbids them to drink; but the Mufti, who, it appears, was no enemy to coffee, soon removed the imputation of any vinous quality, and declared it to be a lawful and harmless liquor. Though the drinking of it did not impede their progress to heaven, yet, during the war in Candia, the assemblies of news-mongers making too free with state affairs, the Grand Vizer suppressed the Coffee-houses at Constantinople. This suppression, however, which still continues, does not prevent the use of coffee in that city, but, on the contrary, the practice is general among the Turks.

Coffee experienced the very same treatment under CHARLES II. in England, that it met with in Turkey under an AMURETH and a MAHOMET, because it was found to encourage social meetings in Coffee-houses, which were shut up by proclamation in the year 1675, as seminaries of sedition. Nothing, however, evinces the shallow short-sighted policy of Charles's ministers more than this very act; but, indeed, the leading men in England seem to have had their minds constantly abstracted from the true interest of their country at all

times. As for Charles, he pursued measures he secretly condemned, and yielded to counsels which his own heart told him, were equally inconsistent with his honour and the happiness of his people.

> Bad counsels he embrac'd through indolence,
> Thro' love of ease, and not thro' want of sense:
> He saw them wrong, but rather let them go
> As right, than take the pains to make them so.
>
> CHURCHILL.

BOERHAVE tells us, that a Dutch Governor having procured some fresh berries from Mocha, planted them in Batavia, and in the year 1690, sent a plant from thence to Amsterdam. In the year 1715 the Dutch began to cultivate coffee in Surinam; the French in Martinique in 1717; and, in the year following, it was cultivated in Jamaica. "How," says Dr. Mosely, "it has been propagated since those periods in the "West Indies, and the employment it has given to "the industry of people of small capital, a numerous "and necessary body of men; to the increase of com-"merce, and the population of the colonies, is too well "known to require recital here."

However much the medicinal virtues of coffee have been extolled and recommended in a variety of instances, it is very little drank in the British West Indies; a *Cracker*, as they call it in Jamaica, suits the English palate better *. But the French hold coffee in just estimation. It is drank by them the very first thing in the morning, and again immediately after dinner, taking one cup only each time, instead of a copious libation of Port and Madeira, in which the English indulge

* Cracker is a mixture of three equal parts, composed of Rum, Brandy, and Gin.

until they become worse than brutes. The consequence is apparent; the French take every care of their health, but the British study nothing so minutely as their own destruction, literally dying in the fumes of intemperance, with their minds full of obscenity; disgorging it at the mouth.

Coffee requires great nicety in roasting; if underdone, its virtues will not be imparted; if over-done, it will have a flattish, burnt, and bitter taste; therefore its virtues will be destroyed. It ought to be confined very close at the time of roasting, and also till used, in order to retain its pungent flavour. The French always make it very strong, preferring the fine syrup of crude sugar to lump or loaf. The way they make it, is, to take a cupful of ground coffee which they put into something almost exactly resembling a small funnel lined with flannel; they then pour as much boiling water over it as will fill a cup; they use it without milk. The extraordinary influence which coffee, thus judiciously prepared, imparts to the stomach, from its tonic and invigorating qualities, is strongly exemplified by the immediate effect produced on taking it, when the stomach is overloaded with food, nauseated with surfeit, or debilitated by intemperance. To constitutionally weak stomachs it affords a pleasing sensation; it accelerates the progress of digestion, corrects crudities, and removes flatulencies; besides its effects in supporting the harmony of the gastric powers, when it diffuses a genial warmth that cherishes the animal spirits, and takes away, according to Baglive, the listlessness and langour which so greatly embitter the hours of nervous people after any deviation to excess, fatigue, or irregularity. The foundation of all the mischiefs of intemperance is laid in the stomach; for, when it is injured, instead of

preparing the food, that the lacteals may carry into the constitution sweet and wholesome juices, to support the health, it becomes the source of disease, and disperses through the whole frame the cause of decay. From the efficacy of coffee in attenuating the viscid fluids, and increasing the vigour of the circulation, it has been used with great success in the dropsy, and in those comatosi, torpid, anasarca's diseases that arise in the West Indies from viscid food, obstructed perspiration, and the oppressive heat of the sun. In vertigo, lethargy, catarrah, and all disorders in the head, from obstructions in the capillaries, long experience has proved it to be a powerful medicine; and in certain cases of apoplexy it has been found serviceable even when given in glysters, where it has not been found convenient to convey its effects by the stomach. The different species of head-ach, such as cephalœa, hemicrania, and clavus, are more frequent and more violent in this part of the world than in Europe. Coffee is the only medicine that gives relief; opiates are sometimes used, but coffee has an advantage that opium does not possess, for it may be taken in all conditions of the stomach, and at all times, by women who are most subject to those complaints; as it dissipates those congestions and obstructions, that are frequently the cause of the disease, and which opium is known to increase when its temporary relief is past. From the stimulant and detergent properties of coffee it is used in obstructions in the viscera; it powerfully promotes the menses, and mitigates the pains attendant on a sparing discharge of that evacuation. In the West Indies the chlorosis and obstructed menses, are common among laborious females, exposed to the effects of their own carelessness, and the rigorous transition of the climate, strong coffee drank

warm in a morning fasting, and good exercise after it, has been productive of innumerable cures. The industrious overseers of plantations, and other Europeans employed in cultivation, who, from the nature of their occupations, must be exposed to the morning and evening dews, find great support from a cup of coffee before they go to the field; it fortifies the stomach, and guards them against the diseases incident to their way of life, especially in clearing lands, or when their residence is in humid situations, or in the vicinity of stagnant water.

Those again who are imprudently addicted to intemperance, find coffee a benign restorer and bracer of the stomach, for that nausea, weakness and disorderly condition, which is brought on by drinking bad fermented liquors and new rum to excess. Coffee has also the admirable property of promoting perspiration, allaying thirst, and checking preternatural heat.

For more of the medicinal virtues of the coffee I beg leave to refer you to Dr. Moseley's treatise, which I have consulted in the preceding remarks. Although it has been published about eighteen years, it is somewhat singular it has never found its way into the British West India Islands; if it has, the excellent advice it contains does not seem to be followed. No one stands in need of it more than the soldier, to whom it ought to be recommended, not only by the medical men attached to the army, but by the commanding officers; instead of that, those I have conversed with have not so much as heard of it. Alas! the comfort of the poor soldier is unhappily overlooked in more, nay, in many more, instances than this, which it would be a work of supererogation in me to notice.

It is, however, astonishing that coffee, which boasts of so many medicinal virtues, should be so little used in

Britain; and when used, it is made so meagre as to have no more virtue in it than what the water contains. It is true, there is more trouble attending it, in the operation, than tea, which is probably the reason why the latter is so much run upon, although found to be very prejudicial to the human frame. Dr. James, I think, somewhere declares, That whatever virtues are ascribed to tea, or however useful as a medicine it may be in China, he is very certain, that either the tea, or the water, or both, are extremely prejudicial as an habitual drink in England, in so much so, that he (himself) had known many hysterical cases relieved, and some cured, by leaving off tea, without taking any remedy whatever; and, in one particular, which was attended with terrible convulsions. Let the properties of tea be what they may, I do not mean to trouble myself about them, leaving it to others who have more leisure and are more capable of elucidating the subject. However, the most innocent way, I fancy, of using it, is according to the original Scotch fashion, which I have frequently heard related, though I cannot vouch for the truth of it. You may have heard of this circumstance. It is thus: A North Briton brought a couple of pounds of it home to his mother as a valuable present; the honest woman invited her neighbours to partake of the rarity, which she boiled all together, like *kail*, in an iron pot, and threw the water away; the leaves, after mixing them with a lump of good butter, of her *ain kirning*, she put before her visitors, who, as the tale says, thought it *verra gude!*——The extraordinary length of this letter bids me say

Vale.

LETTER V.

Arguments deduced from Antiquity to evince that the Climate is no impediment to the Industry of the Whites—Extraordinary longevity—Climate Healthy—Debauchery and Intemperance destructive—Conduct of the European—Mode of choosing Mistresses—Reflections thereon—A Creolian method of acquiring a Fortune by ablocating Prostitutes—West India Tavern a common lustrum—*Philadelphian method of getting Slaves—Career of the European—Salacity and festivity how fatal—Diseases and Mortality among the Negroes*—Mal d'Estomac, *or Dirt Eating—Its Origin and Effects.*

Head-Quarters, PUERTO DE ESPANA, *Feb.* 1803.

DEAR SIR,

HAVING in my preceding letters given you a superficial view of the colony and its productions, I shall now proceed to state my reasons why I think a White Population would thrive. I do not mean to say much respecting the slave trade, but to enquire into the best account to which this Island could be turned, in every view of colonial and national policy. To cultivate it would require an importation of more than 240,000 Negroes, independent of those already on it, whom I shall, for the sake of argument, calculate at

20,000, which, I believe, is not far distant from the truth; however, if the attempt is made to cultivate it with slaves, the destruction of those unhappy objects will not be much short of 1,000,000.—Alas! a million too many! People who are not acquainted with the air and climate of the Island, or, who are interested in the slave trade, will be apt to condemn the plan and its beneficial effects, and will say, that "all hot countries "are a bar to the personal industry of the White cul- "tivators." We know that indolence forms the distinguished trait of the inhabitants of such countries; and that many writers have laid it down as an axiom, that they must be indolent from necessity, inert in body, and, from analogy, inert in mind and character. This doctrine of indolence, is, in all probability, founded on the opinion we have of Asiatic effeminacy, originally transmitted to us by the Greeks and Romans. But upon what facts were these opinions built? Were they discriminately fixed, or, like those of the moderns, grounded only on vague and general ideas? Had the ancient writers, in their time, a more accurate knowledge of the countries they pretend to describe, than we have of them at this period? Are we, then, justified in founding on their report an hypothesis difficult to establish from our own immediate examination? Admitting the facts as we receive them from history, Were the Assyrians, whose ambition and wars during five hundred years, threw Asia into confusion—the Medes, who shook off the yoke and dispossessed them—the Persians, who, under Cyrus, within the space of thirty years, extended their conquests from the Indus to the Mediterranean—were these, I say, inert and indolent people? May we not oppose to this system the Phœnicians, who, for so many centuries, were in the possession

of the whole commerce of the ancients?—the Palmyrenians, of whose industry we possess such stupendous monuments?—the Carduchi, of Xenophon, who braved the power of the *Great King*, in the very heart of his Empire?—the Parthians, those unconquerable rivals of Rome?—and even the Jervis, who, limited to a little state, never ceased to struggle for a thousand years against the most powerful Empires? If men of these nations were inert, what is activity? If they were active where (let me ask you) the influence of climate? Why, in the same countries, where so much energy was displayed in former times, do we at present find such profound indolence? Why are the modern Greeks so debased, amid the very ruins of Sparta and Athens, and in the fields of Marathon and Thermopylæ?

Will it be alleged that the climate has changed? But where are the proofs? Supposing, however, this to be true, it must have changed by singular fits. The climate of Persia must have altered greatly from Cyrus to Xerxes—that of Athens from Aristides to Demetrius Phaleres—and that of Rome from Scipio to Sylla, and from Sylla to Tiberius. The climate of the Portuguese must have changed since the days of Albuquerque, and that of the Turks since Solyman. If indolence be peculiar to the southern countries, how are we to account for a Carthage in Africa, Rome in Italy, and the Buccaniers at St. Domingo?—Why do we meet with Malays in India, and the Bedoüins in Arabia? Why too, at the same period, and under the same sky, do we find a Sybaris near Crotona, a Capua in the vicinity of Rome, and a Sardis contiguous to Miletus? Whence is it that we see, under our own eyes, and in Europe itself, northern governments as languid as the southern? "Why," says Volney, "in

" our own Empire, are the southern more active than " the northern Provinces? If the same effects are observ- " able under directly contrary circumstances, and diffe- " rent effects under the same circumstances, what be- " comes of those pretended principles? What is the in- " fluence of climate?—And what is to be understood " by activity?

" It is only to be accorded of warlike nations! Was " Sparta, when not engaged in war, to be esteemed " inert? What do we mean by hot countries and bad " climates? Where are we to draw the line of cold and " temperate, healthy and unhealthy? Let the partizans " of Montesquieu ascertain this, that we may hence- " forward be enabled to determine the quantity of " energy in a colony, or a nation, by the temperature; " and at what degree of the thermometer we are to fix " its aptitude to slavery or freedom."*

The advocates of the Slave Trade in England, supported their principal argument on the fallacious idea entertained of the heat and insalubrity of the climate; and will hold out the same doctrine to prevent a white population in this Island. Believe me, Sir, it is not the effects of the climate that renders residence within the tropics fatal; for living instances of longevity are evident proofs to the contrary. There is a Spaniard settled in the neighbourhood of *St. Joseph de Oruna*, who has attained the extraordinary age of 120 years; notwithstanding his great age, his natural faculties are still unimpaired, and he is not only active, but intelligent. Does this appear as if climate were fatal? The reverse; and so fascinating the climate appeared to the first Spanish settlers, that they distinguished this Island by the name of *Paradise!*

* Volney's Travels in Egypt and Syria, 2d vol. 463.

It is owing much more to the excesses to which the Europeans usually abandon themselves on their first arrival, than to any inherent ill-quality in the climate itself. Debauchery and intemperance, destroy more than the simple climate. "No sooner," says the excellent divine and moralist I have already quoted,* "do "we pass the line which temperance has drawn, than "pernicious effects come forward and shew themselves. "Could I lay open to your view the monuments of "death, they would read a lecture in favour of moderation, much more powerful than any that the most "eloquent preacher could give. You would behold "the graves peopled with the victims of intemperance. "Yould would behold those chambers of darkness hung "round, on every side, with the trophies of luxury, "drunkenness, and sensuality. So numerous would "you find the martyrs of iniquity, that it may safely "be asserted, where war and pestilence have slain their "thousands, intemperate pleasure has slain its ten "thousands."

Salacity, which in England constitutes a moral sin, and is in itself, a ruinous passion, is here, as it were, metamorphosed into a source of lucrative speculation.—No wonder, when the example is set by *delegated authority*, that those under his command, should follow it; because, one of the West India methods of acquiring a fortune. It is a branch indeed of public prosperity, founded on vice, that saps the foundation of morals; moderation and the precepts of moral virtue, are expunged from the mind to pursue the speculation.

'Tis but by parts we follow good or ill;
For vice, or virtue, self directs it still.

POPE.

* Dr. BLAIR

On the arrival of the European, his first object is, to look out for a mistress, either of the black, yellow, or livid kind. As there are plenty in the market, he has no difficulty to encounter. After pleasing his taste, he bargains for her, in the same manner you would for a colt in Smithfield, either with the mother or the proprietor, for a certain sum of money. He supports this wretched companion of his solicitude in all her extravagance; she denies him nothing, and he is equally generous in return; —free from the trammels of all moral restraint, he is at once launched into the labyrinth of guilty fascination.

Misled by the facinorous disposition of others, and those false doctrines, which grant an unlimited licence to follow the depravity of inclination, vice soon becomes so familiar, as to be considered a virtue. The important duties of religion are banished from the mind; so that God is forgotten in the *riot* betwixt Lust and Mammon.

The traveller can see no signs whatever of such a day as Sunday,—no trace of christianity,—no respect for morality. On the day called Sunday, the stores are open for the transaction of business till dinner time,—the rest of the day is spent in dancing, playing, billiards, &c. Instead of christianity, he is shocked at the constant display of brutality; and in the room of morality, he sees vice arrayed in putrefaction. To me, nothing evinces the folly and frailty of human nature more, than a shameful neglect of all moral and religious duties. What a benign idea does a religious conduct excite! It stimulates the exaltation of human nature; inspires the love of truth and benevolence; and enforces the practice of charity. Religion also teaches us to love our fellow-creatures, whether black or white, to refine our passions, and reduce them to the obedience of reason. It will encourage and increase the energies of friendship, and add tenderness to

the ties of conjugal affection. Whatever our great philosophers may advance, as De Mably very justly observes, all depends upon the morals; and the deeper you search into the operation of politics, the more you will be convinced of it. But now, Sir, I find such an habitual negligence of every thing that is good, and such a superior inclination for that which is evil, that the reformation of them would be more than Herculean labour.

> Vice, is a monster of so frightful mien,
> As, to be hated, needs but to be seen;
> Yet soon, too oft, familiar with her face,
> We first endure, then pity, then embrace.
>
> POPE.

It is in vain to dwell on this subject, as far as it regards this island, for the depraved example the inhabitants have had before their eyes for six years past, is so riveted in their minds, that it would require a new race of men to eradicate the contagion of vice. Surely of all the subjects of observation any country affords, the moral character of its inhabitants is unquestionably the most important. In other parts of the world, the inquiry is very difficult to pursue; it is not sufficient to make a barren investigation into facts; the real object is, to penetrate into the various causes and relations, to discover the open or latent, the remote or immediate springs, which produce in men those habits of action. But here, indeed, there is no difficulty, for the spring of action is as clear as day, to the view of every traveller; yet, it is necessary for him to be circumspect, without being timid; as the reader, who is obliged to read with the eyes of others, should watch attentively, both the reasonings of his guide, and the deductions he may feel inclined to draw himself. If you and I attend to this aphorism (I hope we

shall), we shall be able to understand each other, at least, if you can command sufficient patience to follow me through the putrid spring I am going to wade.

There is, Sir, in this place, as well as every other sea-port town in the West Indies, free female blacks and mulattoes, who acquire considerable wealth, merely by ablocating prostitutes. The taverns where you lodge (with few exceptions) are kept by coloured females, and, would be properly called houses of ill fame in any civilized part of the world. The only decent tavern in this place, is kept by a worthy little Highlander, of the name of M'Kay, whose moral rectitude, and propriety of conduct, are too conspicuous for his own interest. Such is the pitch of West India depravity, that, because he does not keep an assortment of ladies of easy virtue in his house, he does not meet with encouragement; whereas, another house, with a large sign to decoy the unwary, "*The British Coffee-house,*" and kept by a mulattoe woman, of the name of PERRY, meets with every encouragement she could anticipate, because she has an assortment of nymphs for the accommodation of her gentlemen lodgers. Indeed, Sir, according to the West India principles of economy, she would be considered as deviating from it, and a weighty reproach if she did not keep every thing suitable for accommodating her guests. In consequence of keeping these sporting nymphs in her "*British Coffee-house,*" I find, though it is infinitely the worst provided in every thing else, and much more extravagant, it is better attended than M'Kay's; which is another proof of the depravity of the morals of those who frequent such houses.

Ablocating prostitutes for avaricious purposes, is an old custom. We are told by *Dellon*, that he found the practice more than an hundred years ago in the Bay of

Every lad who comes out bound to serve in a store, hires a prostitute, with whom he shares his bed; and, between salacity and intemperance, debilitates his constitution before it has time to arrive at maturity. As for the native creole, a female companion is provided for him from among the slaves of the family, at an early age, to prevent his going astray to increase the stock of his neighbours, to the manifest injury of his own property.

I have somewhere seen a calculation, which went to prove, that out of 100 living men, we must expect 28 to die every year. Let us apply this ratio to Trinidad. For instance; out of every 100 white men that arrive in the course of a year, we shall suppose 20 will die of course within the year. Well, Sir, I have made a calculation, which I firmly believe, is a correct one, that 30 perish in that period, by various diseases, which ramify from the deleterious and maniacal effects of salacity and intemperance.

Most (if not all) of the West India planters are, more or less, addicted to this social, festive vice, and a vice, beyond any other, apt to draw in people by the example. The planter collects his circle, and that circle naturally spreads, so that they all emulate each other in corrupting every new comer. The frequent duels you hear of in the West Indies are, *en passant*, owing to this deleterious vice. I have seen persons addicted to excessive drinking, in the intervals of sobriety, labouring under the oppressive *circa præcordia*, which exceeded the ordinary patience of human nature to endure. It is no way relieved but by a repetition of the same excessive libation.

Though the new imported negroes do not indulge the vice of drunkenness, yet I find they perish in greater proportion

than the unseasoned Europeans. A young medical gentleman, a nephew of the celebrated Dr. Jenner, informed me, during his attendance at a plantation in the district of *Naparima*, that out of 270 field negroes, 80 died the last year. This is surely a great mortality, and a great loss to the planter; which is neither the fault of bad food nor bad care; as this planter has studied, in a great degree, the comforts of his slaves. The most *regnant* malady among them is, what the French call *mal d' estomac*. No method has been found out to prevent their indulging a depravity of taste; it prompts them to devour, with the most sensual avidity, almost every thing that falls in their way, particularly lumps of clay;—it begins with an *ennui*, and ends in a marasmus, that baffles the knowledge of the sons of Esculapius*.

* MAL D' ESTOMAC, CACHEXIA AFRICANA, or the stomach disease of the negroes.

It is astonishing how little medical men are informed respecting this disease, and how slovenly it is passed over by medical authors. Dr. Hunter passed it over with a dash. The authors of the Medical and Physical Journal, vol. ii, 172, merely stated the symptoms, and a sort of cure loosely; and Mr. Edwards, in his History of the West Indies, treats it in the like manner, adding, "the best and only remedy is kind usage and wholesome animal food—*Perhaps a steel drink may be of some service!!*" Lastly, Dr. Winterbottom:—he ought to be excused, for in Africa he had no opportunity of observing the disease, but among the children, which might be seen in England among even our grown up misses. The reader, if a medical one, I hope will pardon me, should I presume to hazard an opinion on the origin of it in the male negroes, when I say, that it is owing to the constant, cruel castigation they experience in the field and elsewhere, from the inhuman task-master, causing an *ennui*, or marasmus of the *Nostalgia* kind, which creates this preternatural taste for dirt-eating. On recurring to the MS. of my travels through the United States of America, I find I have noticed this disease under the head of *Maladie Ecossois*, which proceeds from an ardent desire in the Highlanders of Scotland to re-visit their native hills. I have seen

There are a great many things that contribute to shorten the life of the unfortunate negro, in which may be noticed, the change of climate, bad habit of body, aided in many instances by unwholsome regimen;—the mass of his blood is frequently so corrupt, that the slightest scratch degenerates into a dangerous wound. I have carefully examined the different countenances of these unhappy beings during their landing, and in the penn before they were sold. One half, with downcast looks, portrayed a broken heart. Pray when does the legislature mean to abolish this traffic? I wish some of your advocates in the House had only a peep at the 500 naked beings now selling before my eyes. Oh! my God! how————

Farewell.

many of them in several parts of America labouring under the affliction of this disorder, occasioned by disappointed hopes, and the barbarous usage of the slave-master, to whom they were originally sold for the payment of their passage, and from whose infernal gripe they were never able to extricate either themselves or their children. The thoughts of being thus held in hard and hopeless bondage, together with the brutality of their tyrants, brings on a gradual *ennui*, which tempts them to end their miserable existence by suicide, when dirt-eating, and a constant libation of *Yankie*-rum, does not speedily effect their liberation from their ill-fated captivity. It is the same with the negroes, but far more violent from the nature of their bondage. I could really wish to pursue this important inquiry further, and elucidate the subject properly, but, I am precluded, from the nature of the situation in which this note appears.

LETTER VI.

The situation of the Scotch Highlander, and the West India Negro, collated—Remarks on the State of the Highland Redemptioners in the United States of America—A Hint to future Emigrants—Trinidad recommended—Its further Advantages explained—Necessaries of Life—Culinary Vegetables, &c.—Description of the Coco Tree, its Medicinal Virtues—The Method of extracting Suri, *and distilling* Arac—Capivi *Tree*—Paraguay, *or South-Sea Tea; its Virtues—Mangrove Tree—Mangrove Oysters—History of the* Flamingo.

Head-Quarters, PUERTO DE ESPANA, *March* 1802.

DEAR SIR,

AS I am now going to collate the situation of the European labourer, with the negro in this place, you will permit me to recall to view some of the observations I made on my tour from London to the Highlands of Scotland in 1798, which excited in your bosom such sympathy and concern for a sober, harmless, and much injured people. And now that I have ocular demonstration of the situation of the negro, I am convinced of the justness of the comparison I drew at that period. The condition of the negroes is much to be envied, when compared to the predial slaves or scallags in

the Highlands and Isles of Scotland. The Highlander is more deplorably circumvented with extreme poverty, and a petty tyranny, arising from immemorial usages, established in times of feudal oppression; with feelings more acute than the negro, he is more sensible of the pangs of misery, because secluded *insulaire* from the benign influence of the British laws and government. It is a melancholy picture, and no less a melancholy fact, that Highlanders will not be thought of until it is too late; for how many hundreds, nay, thousands of them are in bondage in the United States of America, preferring, in a state of desperation, slavery abroad rather than at home. In America, the boasted land of freedom, they sell their persons to pay their passages.—Yes! —present themselves as indented vagabonds before upstart, and of course, insolent, magistrates, to submit to fetters, and transferred to oppressive masters, by whom they are treated worse than our beasts of burden. Yes,— I have seen, with an aching heart, families and individuals who, twenty years ago, sold their liberty for six years, continue still in slavery, and what is worse, will be so during life. The fraudulent slave-master, taking an early advantage of their simple, easy credulity, keep them in debt, so that they have no power to extricate themselves.

I have heard of others, who to put an end to their torments, commit the most horrible suicide, extinguishing at once their families. If they run away, and are taken, I have seen them flogged, and worked in chains during day, shut in their manacles during night, as criminals. This, Sir, is the prospect of those who emigrate to the *fag end of the world* as redemptioners. To return to my position in the Highlands; the Scallag, so called, whether male or female, is a poor being, who, for mere subsist-

ence, becomes a predial slave to either the landholder, tenant, or sub-tenant. The Scallag builds his own hut with sods and boughs of trees, when he can get them. If he is sent, which is frequently the case, from one part of the country to another, he moves off his sticks to enable him to form a new hut. Five days in the week he must work for his master, the sixth is allowed for himself, for the cultivation of some miserable scrap of land, on the verge of some moss or heath, on which he raises a little colewort, barley, and potatoes. These boiled up together in one mash, often without salt, are his only food, except in the season, and on those days when he can catch fish, which I have known him obliged to eat frequently without either bread or salt;—when he has bread, it is made of the flour of either oats or barley. He is allowed coarse shoes, with tartan hose, and a coarse coat, with a blanket or two for cloathing. In reading the foregoing, it will naturally occur to you, that the *Scallag* works only five days in the week for his master out of the seven, and that he has two to provide for himself; but you will please to recollect, that throughout the whole of Scotland, and all its appendages, Sunday, or as they call it, Sabbath, is celebrated by a total cessation from all labour and all amusements.

The comforts of the negro are far superior, because his wants are fewer and easier obtained; the labourer is better clad, as it is an object of necessity; the negro has no need of cloths, the habit with him is merely an article of luxury. The cottage of the labourer is larger and better furnished, which being repaired in summer, and warmed in winter, together with his furniture, &c. absorb no inconsiderable part of his scanty earnings. He must provide food, fuel, remnant, discharge his rent, and other contingencies, perhaps encumbered with a numerous

family: all these things are provided for the negro, and his family taken care of. The cares of the world never disturb his repose.

The labourer, by numerous privations of diligent industry, can scarcely succeed to acquire a moment's ease, before a melancholy presage of the future intervenes, and siderates his fugitive delights. An increasing family, and old age approaching, enervate the arm that must shortly succumb in the combat he has yet to wage; poverty, and, all its concomitant train of evils, prey deeply on his mind, and prevent a ray of happiness from smiling in his lancinated imagination:—When dying, he may well say, that his "shortened span of life was not illumed with a single ray of comfort."

I do not mean to deny that the negro has his share of sufferings also; it is, however, a negative share. He is not only exonerated from the care of providing for the present, but for the future. The only thing he can complain of, is, the hardships necessarily attached to his condition. When he eats his banana, he goes contentedly to sleep; the world or its cares have no effect on his mind,—though a hurricane or a fire destroy the sanguine anticipation of his tyrant; though volcanos ingulf towns and cities; though war and pestilence succeed with all their horrors; all that is nothing to the negro,—he sits in the posture of contentment, smoaking his pipe, and views, with a tranquil mind, the siderated prospects of a whole generation,—therefore, the unhappiness of the negro is local and negative; that of the Highland labourer universal and positive.

It is true, the Highland labourer enjoys a sort of legitimate freedom; but, what is freedom to him? Whatever way he may attempt to move, in order to better his con-

dition, he will, from the want of appendant means, be pushed back to the vortex of wretchedness, from which he ardently anticipated an escape.

Again, the dependance of the labourer is upon the uncertain retribution of uncertain labours. Even the most active industry can barely provide for his family from day to day; a precarious state of health, together with many contingent circumstances, predicate a gloomy prospect, which must corrode his mind, already too much overwhelmed with the horrors of impending wretchedness. He may well be allowed to say—

> "Born under a *cloud* of *misfortune* and *sorrow*,
> "The child of *misery* from the hour of my birth,
> "No blessing to comfort the thoughts of to-morrow,
> "The prospect so *dreary*, no joy upon *earth*."

In Trinidad the labourer's wants would be reduced to a mere trifle, and, with a little industry, he might experience all the comforts of decent competency.

The necessaries of life are very abundant. The beef, which is plentifully supplied from the main, is rather lean; venison is in plenty, and is tolerably good, but the pork is delicious, as also the maroon, or wild hog; goats are numerous; their flesh, when young, is esteemed equal to either the Welch or Highland mutton; the poultry, except the pintado, is indifferent; fish is in great abundance and variety, and turtle particularly so.

Culinary vegetables are much better than in Europe, but neither so various nor so abundant. There is a kind of spinage, of which they make *calalou*, very delicious to the creolian palate; and among the rest may be remarked the *ignanea*, *chou-caraïbe*, or Indian

kale, patate, banana*, plantain†, breadfruit, artichokes asparagus, water-cresses, pulse, sorrel, parsley, and pease of various kinds, but none of them resembling those in England, with a variety of roots, &c.

Fruits grow in great plenty, (oranges and lemons already mentioned), shadocks, mammees‡, soursops, papas, pine-apples§, custard-apples, star-apples, prickly-pears,

* The banana-tree, a species of the MUSA, grows plentifully in all the West India islands, and bears a fruit six or nine inches long, covered, when ripe, with a yellow and tender skin. Its leaves are two yards long, and about twelve inches wide, and the fruit grows upon a stalk about six yards high; each stalk bearing only one single cluster or bunch, which consists of forty or fifty bananas. When the bunch is gathered, they cut off the stalk, otherwise it would bear no more fruit. The pulp of the fruit is as soft as marmalade, and of a very pleasant taste, and it is said to be very nourishing, to excite urine, and to provoke venery. There are two trees of this name, one is called the fig-tree BANANA, a fig-tree of Adam, *(said to be the forbidden fruit)*, and differs from the other only in the nature and quality of its fruit.

† The fruit of the plantain-tree is not much unlike the banana, either in taste or shape, only it is somewhat longer.

‡ The mammee-tree is tall and strait bodied, without knots or limbs, for sixty or seventy feet, but afterwards spreading into several small branches, growing thick and close together. The bark is of a dark grey colour, thick and rough, its fruit thicker than a quince, round, and covered with a thick rind. When the fruit is ripe, the rind is yellow, and will peel off like leather, but before it is brittle. Under the rind of the pulp it is also yellow, and in the middle are two large stones, flattish, and each of them bigger than an almond; the fruit smells well, and the taste is not disagreeable.

§ The ananas, or pine-apple, so called from the resemblance to the cones of the pines and firs, is of all others the most delicious fruit, and grows spontaneous. It is the product of an herbaceous plant, with leaves like an aloe, and the top of the fruit is adorned with a little crown, and also with a little bunch of leaves. The pulp is fibrou

allicada-pears, melons, pompions, guavas‖, with other tropical fruits.

Mrs. Fullarton shewed me one day some excellent fresh butter, made a few miles from hence, at one of the vallies, not far inferior to the Cambridge butter.

Along the shore of Coco Bay, there is a considerable number of palm or coco-trees, whose species is not natural to the island. It is said that a launch coming from the Orinoco, laden with these trees, was wrecked in this bay, by which accident they were planted, and continue to multiply.

Coccus, or *cocos*, in botany, the name of a genus of plants of the PALMÆ class, called in the Hortus Malabaricus, *teuga*. It is one of the most remarkable and useful productions of the Indies; grows straight, without any branches, till near its summit, and ordinarily is thirty or forty feet high, of a spongy kind of wood, and yields fruit thrice a-year, and those often as big as a man's head. The leaves, which are of a great length, and terminate in a point, serve the negroes to cover their houses

but diffolves in the mouth, and has the fine taste of the peach, the quince, and the muscadine grape combined. I have been told that the Indians make a wine of the juice, almost equal to malmsey sack, and has the like intoxicating effects. I have tasted some pine-apple brandy at the house of Mr. John Lamy, a respectable merchant in Philadelphia, which was sent to him as a present from Havannah, of the most exquisite flavour. The fruit is esteemed cordial, good against a nausea, raises and exhilarates the spirits, and provokes urine; but it is not proper for women in a pregnant state, being apt to occasion abortion. A confection of the anana is said to be of service to restore a decayed or broken constitution.

‖ The guava resembles our peach, only the outside is rougher, and there is no stone within, but kernels less than those of apples. This fruit is reckoned an excellent medicine against the flux.

with, and for many other purposes. Above the leaves, arise several shoots as thick as a man's arm, and on the top of all grows a large excrescence, in form of a cabbage, excellent to eat, and far exceeding our finest cabbage in flavour. From the sides, and upper part of the cabbage, there likewise shoots out a cluster of pods, containing some small kernels, tasting exactly like our walnut. The nuts, which are the fruit of the *coco-tree*, hang in clusters four or five together; before they are ripe, they contain a clear, cooling water or milk, which in time condenses to a pulp, and becomes an excellent food; it likewise affords an oil, equally good either for the lamp or the table. The shell of the nut is made into bowls, spoons, and several other utensils. In the East Indies, the natives extract a liquor from this tree, which is called *suri*, of a grateful taste, and intoxicates like wine; it is sweet when newly extracted, but by standing still a little time, it becomes more acid. From this liquor is distilled a water or spirit, that will burn when thrown in the fire like brandy. The *suri* is, what some authors, I apprehend, mention under the name of *toddy*,—from whence Lockyer affirms the East Indians distil the spirit we denominate *arac*, which is the Indian word for all strong waters. The method of obtaining the *suri* is, by making an incision in the top of the capsule, that bears the flowers and the fruit, and about four inches below, an oblique incision is made in the bark, from whence the liquor drops into a vessel hung to receive it. What is obtained in the morning, is sweet and pleasant, and even more delicious than the milk of the nut; but that in the evening is somewhat acid; the next day it grows sour, and on the third day it is entirely acid. In order to make vinegar of this liquor, the vessel that receives it is put among lime, for fifteen days, which excites a violent

fermentation, much froth is thrown up, and a whitish matter subsiding to the bottom, the *suri* is changed into vinegar. A sort of sugar, called jagra, is also prepared from *suri*, by putting into it a sufficient quantity of lime, to tinge it of a reddish colour; the liquor is then boiled, and stirred continually till it is inspissated, whereby a red sugar is produced, which may be rendered white by repeated dissolutions and boilings. Its medicinal virtues are said to be highly beneficial to phthisical patients, or those who labour under any disorder in the kidneys, or a difficulty of discharging their urine. The liquor contained in the nut is good to extinguish thirst, purifies the blood, cleanses the stomach, affords much nourishment, and is an excellent drink in biliary fevers. To this account of the coco-tree and its virtues, permit me to add some particulars of the method of making *arac*, as it may be the means of stimulating some enterprising genius to make experiments of it in this island. He will be at no loss to get plenty of *suri*, as a multitude of islands at the mouth of the Orinoco, I learn, are entirely covered with the *coco-tree*. What is most remarkable of these islands is, that although they lay inundated for six months of the year, and the tide covers them otherwise twice a-day, they are inhabited by *Guaraunas*, who have constructed commodious huts on high piles deeply driven in the mud, but many of them have constructed their huts in the *coco-trees*, which, at the same time, supply them with food, drink, household furniture, canoes, nets, baskets, &c. There are about six thousand of them who live in this way, and, I am told, are very expert fishermen. The chief places in the East for making arac are *Goa* and *Batavia*. At *Goa* there are three kinds; single, double, and treble distilled: the double distilled, which is that commonly sent abroad, is but a

weak spirit compared with the *Batavia* ARAC; yet, on account of its peculiarly agreeable flavour, is preferable to all the other ARACS of India. This is attributed to the earthen vessels which are used in *Goa* to draw the spirit, whereas copper stills are used in *Batavia*.

Goa *Method of making* ARAC.

The juice of the trees is not procured by tapping. The operator provides himself with a parcel of earthen pots, similar to those called in the *Antilles*, monkeys, with bellies and necks not unlike our ordinary wine bottles, which he makes fast to his girdle, or any other place more convenient to himself. Thus equipped, he climbs up the trunk of a coco-tree; when he comes to the boughs, he takes out his knife, and, cutting off one of the small nobs or buttons, he applies the mouth of the bottle to the wound, fastening it to the bough with a bandage; this he does in the same manner with the rest of his bottles, till the whole number is used. The operation is always performed in the evening; descending from the tree, he leaves them till next morning, when he takes off the bottles mostly filled, and empties the juice into a proper receptacle provided for the purpose. It is repeated every night until a sufficient quantity is provided, and the whole being put together, is left to ferment, which it soon does. When the fermentation is over, and the liquor, or wash, is become a little tart, it is put into the still, and a fire being made, the still is suffered to work as long as there remains any considerable taste of spirit in that which comes from it.

I have been informed, but not with any degree of certainty, that the COPAIBA, CAPAHU, or CAPIVI-TREE, from which the celebrated BALSAM is extracted, and the TOLU likewise, are to be found in this valuable spot.

In a conversation I had with an intelligent Spaniard, who had travelled much of the banks of the *Orinoco*, he told me, he found the plant which produces what is called the *paraguay tea*, better known to you under the denomination of *South-sea tea*; it grows to the usual height of about eighteen inches, with slender branches, and leaves like those of *sena*. Of this occidental TEA, *vari circa hæc opino*, however, it is infused in hot water, and communicates to it a colour and smell nearly like those of the best tea brought from *China*. There are two kinds of this plant, *paraguay* and *camini*; the latter is held in higher estimation, and is one third dearer than the other. It is drunk by the richest of the Spaniards; the former is chiefly used by their domestics and slaves, but both are of much use, and of such necessity, that nobody in the part where it grows will live without them.

In the mines of *Potosi*, we are told the slaves use it as the only remedy to counteract the ill effects of the mineral steams, that otherwise would suffocate them. That as it may, the article is considerable in the commerce of that part of the world, and formerly the Jesuits wholly monopolized it to themselves. The virtue attributed to this tea, is, purifying all kinds of water, however foul and corrupt. In crossing the deserts from *Buenos Ayres* to *Peru* and *Chili*, it is made use of to sweeten the bad water, and drunk without any injury. In the scurvy and putrid fevers it is reckoned a specific.

I have noticed this plant merely with a view of recommending the cultivation of it, provided government thought it wise to establish a white population in this island, because it would, in all probability, supercede our unprofitable commerce with *China* in the article of *tea*, and therefore give employment to hundreds of those unhappy beings, who voluntarily yet ignorantly involve them-

selves in greater wretchedness in this fag end of the creation, under the fetters of the North American slave-master.

The most common wood I have observed since my arrival, is the mangrove, of which there are several sorts, black, red, and white. The black is the largest, and as big as our oaks, and generally grows to the height of from twenty to thirty feet; it is very serviceable timber, but extraordinarily heavy, consequently not much used in building. The red grows commonly by the sea side, or by creeks and rivers; it proceeds from several roots, and about eight or ten feet from the ground, joins into one trunk or body, so that the tree seems as if supported by so many artificial stalks. The inside of the bark is red, and is much used in the West Indies for the purpose of tanning leather. The white, in some instances, grows equally as large, and I have seen it used here to make gun carriages of; they are all indeed of a very durable nature. On trees of this species, whose leaves are long and heavy, weighing down the boughs into the water, oysters are engendered in great quantities, where they grow till they are large, and then they cannot be separated from the tree, but people cut off the boughs on which the oysters hang in a manner resembling a rope of onions. *En passant*, I hope you will not expect that I should observe a critical precision, when endeavouring to describe the natural productions of the animal, vegetable, and fossil kind found here; if you have such anticipation, I am sorry to say that you will find yourself disappointed, for I have only prescribed to myself to dilate on every object as they appear to excite my attention. If you are satisfied with this apology, I beg leave to proceed. I am just returned from seeing a very beautiful bird, called the FLAMINGO, which is com-

mon to the island; with a description of which I shall conclude this letter, already (like the rest) extended to an unreasonable length.

A curious inquirer into nature could no sooner cast his eyes upon this extraordinary bird, than he would be satisfied that some peculiar ends were to be answered by its uncommon length of legs and neck, the largest, I believe, of the bird kind. The *flamingo* is frequent in the warmer climates, and most commonly found about the shallow shores of the sea, and the mouth of rivers. When seen in the water, which is generally the case, the body only is on the surface, and it appears swimming, though really standing; the head at those times is constantly under water in search of food, and it then only appears the size of a wild goose, or a little more; but with what astonishment does the stranger see it come out of the water! the head is first raised erect, and the surprising length of the neck is like that of the ostrich, only more extraordinary; the body, as it comes on shore, is raised as much above the ground as the head is above the body, and there stalks forth a bird of a wonderful height, and in beauty surpassing almost every other. The wings nearly cover the body, and the tail is comparatively nothing. That part of the body which remains uncovered is snow-white, the breadth of the wings is of a scarlet so bright, that the eye is pained to look long upon it, and the long feathers are of the deepest black; the neck is of the same snow-white with the body, and the legs are of the same scarlet with the wings. I have seen them of variegated colours, and some whose feathers were entirely of the brightest scarlet. The beak is blue, except at the tip, where it is black; it is not long, straight and sharp, as in the heron kind, but vastly strong, and of a shape so singular, that it

appears broken. The toes of the bird are connected together by a membrane like those of the duck kind, so that it can swim, but the legs are long, and it never makes this use of them in the common course of its feeding; the only purpose to which these webs serve, is the preservation of its life on singular occasions. The tides are sudden in some parts of America, where the bird is common, and while it is rooting under some rough stones for a shell fish, it becomes out of its depth. In this case the least gust of air might blow it to sea, and it must perish, for it does not very easily rise from the water when out of its depth. The webbed feet are now useful; it swims till it can reach the bottom, and as soon as a small part of its legs are out of the water, it takes wing.

Thus an indulgent Providence hath taken care, as well for its peculiar safety, as its general support. As they are to receive their nourishment from animals or plants, which are found in the water, and yet have no power to swim, the length of their legs and neck sufficiently answers all their demands. It was well known to the ancients, and its tongue was accounted a very great delicacy among the nice eaters of old times.

Vale.

LETTER VII.

Natural History, &c.—Mountains—Rivers—Hints respecting the Improvement of their Navigation—Petroleum, Bitumen, *or fossile Pitch described—Gulf of Paria—Phenomenon peculiar to the Nile and Orinoco described—Sir Walter Raleigh's enterprize in search of Gold—Indirect Commerce with the Spaniards frustrated by the misconduct of Governor Picton—Reflection on his Character; his Prototype, &c.*

Head-Quarters, PUERTO DE ESPANA, *March* 1803.

DEAR SIR,

IN many of the rivers on the west coast or gulf, are to be found sharks, *lamentin, manatee,* or *sea cow,* generally weighing from 8cwt. to 16cwt. The Indians and negroes harpoon it similar to the whale; its flesh is said to be good either fresh or dry. Some of the species have been caught in the French islands, twenty feet long and ten broad. The *pantouflier,* or *zigene,* is to be met with also; this dangerous, voracious monster, measures from ten to twelve feet long, and thick in proportion, with a head shaped like a hammer, large, terrific eyes, and a wide mouth, well armed with teeth, more conveniently disposed for biting than those of the shark, whose body it more resembles. This horned fish has been often-

found at *Guadaloupe*, in the road of *Basse Terre*, but it is common to some of the *Antilles*. The alligator and guana are also common; the latter is eaten by the negroes. I have seen a scorpion here about ten inches long: these creatures are reckoned very venomous; and I should suppose, from what has been said respecting them, that, were a person to be stung by so large a one as the one I saw, it would be immediate death. There are a variety of snakes, but as I have not seen any of them as yet, I cannot give you a description of their kinds, but as I mean to travel over a great part of the island in the course of next month, I shall have an opportunity of seeing them.

The *fire fly* is a remarkable curiosity, though very common in America. It has two tubes or horns, and six legs, having four wings of a bright flame colour, two of which only are to be seen when it flies, and the other two when it rests. The light proceeds from a circular patch under the wings, and is seen only when elevated, like sparks of *fire* appearing and disappearing every second. The air is full of them at night, but never in the day time, nor could I trace when any of them rested.

The *musquitoes* are peculiarly fond of tormenting the Europeans, almost indiscriminately, but I have no reason to complain of them, as they never troubled me;—indeed, I have been a favourite of their's, not only on the continent, but in all the islands where I have been. In St. Domingo I could not help admiring their conduct, when they waged war against the usurper cut-throats, who appeared on the parade with pustules on their faces, so covered as to induce me to imagine they were all ill of the small pox. They were the potent allies of Toussaint, and constantly played their harrassing part at night. I knew an European gentleman, whom I saw on my way through New

Jersey, and found him confined to his chamber from the bite of one of them. He had been in that situation for six months, but at last got better. These flies may be compared to our gnats, but more troublesome;—when they bite, the part itches very much, and if scratched till it bleeds, a sore generally ensues; when healed, the matter always appears of a blackish colour.

The *sand fly* is another troublesome insect, which is so small as hardly to be discerned. If the wind blows, it is not able to bite.

The *centipes scolapendra morsitans,* is here very common, but I do not learn that any harm has occurred from it.

The insect, called *chigro pulex penetrans,* is also common, small, and black, resembling a young flea; but soon after the destruction of Cape François in 1802, I observed them in vast numbers, in the ruins, as large, and sometimes larger than our common flea. My companions were constantly molested with them, particularly a young gentleman from Boston (New England), of the name of Burrows, on his passage to Philadelphia; he was almost crippled by them; he, however, got well immediately on his arrival. This troublesome insect insinuates itself in the soles of the feet, towards and about the toes, where it forms to itself a small bag like an hydatid, about the size of a pea, wherein it deposits its innumerable *ova.* The cure is effected by extracting the hydatid, or bag whole, with the point of a needle, or other sharp pointed instrument; the female negroes are peculiarly expert at it. Should the hydatid burst, in performing the operation, each *ovum,* when hatched, forms for itself a fresh *nidus,* and hydatid. The early symptom is indicated by an uncommon degree of itch-

ing, and when neglected, it frequently endangers the loss of toes and feet.

The feathered tribes create admiration from their splendid plumage and variety. It is my intention to devote a little time to them, in order to make a collection of the different kinds, to take with me on my return to England; in the mean time, a description of the rivers may not be uninteresting.

There are in this island three distinct ridges of mountains, the northern, middle, and southern, covered with incorruptible woods proper for ship-building. The rivers, several of which are inconsiderable, have been traced and examined as to what distance they are navigable; and a report has been made by Mallet, with respect to the improvements they may be capable of, by deepning their beds, making canals, &c. But as this man (though a creature of Picton), never discovered any talents, except a series of ill treatment towards his amiable wife, I do not imagine that his surveys merit any notice.

The navigable rivers on the west coast which disembogue themselves into the gulf of *Paria*, are the *Caroni*, *Guaracara*, *Coura*, and *Siparia*; those on the east coast of the island, are the *Ortoire*, *Neg*, *Lebranche*, and the *Oropuche*.

Mr. Christie, a gentleman of considerable talents, in the Surveyor General's department, is preparing to survey the river *Caroni*, a few miles distant from hence. This is the principal river of the island, being navigable from its entrance to the *Aripo*, a branch of the *Caroni*, a distance of about twenty miles. The views of government are, to connect the *Aripo* with the *Guaro*, a branch of the *Oropuche*, also navigable to the sea, which will open a communication from the west coast of *Paria*, to the east coast, or *Atlantic*; and also to clear the bed of

the *Caroni* of the rubbish, so as to drain the great savannah before mentioned, which will be the means of not only rendering the Port of Spain healthy, but facilitating an easy intercourse with the interior of the island. The river *Ortoire*, or *Guataro*, is the principal one on the east coast, navigable to *Morne Orangè*, a distance of about twenty miles, having from two to five fathoms water; but as the mouth of this river is shoal water, it would be requisite to cut a navigable canal to the bay of *Mayaro*, which would give the facility of exportation to the production of an immense tract of cultivable land.

In the bay of *Mayaro*, we find safe anchorage, having good holding ground, a fine bottom of sand and gravel, and may embark or disembark at any time of the tide.

The *Neg* runs a short distance parallel to the shore, forming a sort of canal about six miles in length, which receives the waters of the Mangrove trees that spread over all this part. The water of this river is black, and so tainted, as to make the sea frothy all round its mouth.

The *Oropuche* is navigable about ten miles on the banks of this river. A fine settlement might be formed, containing forty-five divisions, about 14,400 acres. The rivers *Guaro*, *Siparia*, and *Lebranche*, are insignificant, and hardly worth noticing, because neither of them are navigable above 6000 paces.

There are several marshes; that of *Caroni* might be drained as well as those of *Ortoire* and *Oropouche*, but the marsh of *Lagona Grande* is inaccessible. The marsh of *Icaque* is level with the sea, in which there are two gulfs; one has an elevation of about seven feet, and the other twelve: mud and calcareous earth are continually gushing from them. In the months of March and June, the two principal months, they emit metallic

particles, stones rounded by friction, and other heterogeneous substances.

Rio Grande, is a valley belonging to the crown, which lies about sixty-eight miles from this place, containing eleven divisions of 320 acres each, with a fine river meandering through it, having good anchoring ground, sheltered by a head land from the north-east wind, and, being healthy, it is remarkably well adapted for a white population. *Ballandra* is another place I deem equally advantageous, and not more than six miles from *Rio Grande,* situated on the south-east side of the island. The reason why I give the preference to these places is, not only their superior situation with regard to health, but their distance from any other settlement, which would prevent them from having any intercourse whatever with the corrupt society already mentioned, as—

"Creeping in the putrid sink of vice."

I have just seen a considerable quantity of *petroleum, bitumen,* also called *pisasphaltos, carabe funerum, gummi funerum, mumia, carabe* of *Sodom,* fossil pitch, and Jew's pitch, a mineral sulphur, solid and light in substance, of a dusky colour on the outside, but a deep shining black within, having but little taste or smell, except when heated, in which case it emits a strong pitchy odour. It was brought from *Cape de la Brea,* situated in the western extremity of *Laguna Grande,* where there is a lake of it, elevated between seventy and eighty feet above the level of the sea. We are informed by *Father Gumilla,* that some little time before he came to this island, (which may be reckoned nearly about seventy years), a spot of land on the western coast, about half way between the capital and the Indian village, sunk suddenly, and was immediately replaced by a small lake of pitch,

to the great surprise and terror of the inhabitants. I suppose, he means by the capital, the village of *La Brea*, for I do not learn that any other *Petroleum* lake is known in the island, but the one above mentioned. The question now remains, whether this *Petroleum* would not supersede the use of copper, for ships navigating these seas? If it would, what a great expence would be saved, not only to the nation, but to individuals. Surely the experiment ought to be tried. The following is Dr. Anderson's account of this *Petroleum:*

" A most remarkable production of nature in the island of Trinidad, is a bituminous lake, or rather plain, known by the name of *Tar Lake;* by the French called *La Brea,* from the resemblance to, and answering the intention of, ship-pitch. It lies in the leeward side of the island, about half way from the Bocas to the south end, where the mangrove swamps are interrupted by the sand-banks and hills; and on a point of land which extends into the sea about two miles, exactly opposite to the high mountains of Paria, on the north side of the gulf.

" The cape, or headland, is about fifty feet above the level of the sea, and is the greatest elevation of land on this side of the island. From the sea it appears a mass of black vitrified rocks; but, on a close examination, it is found a composition of bituminous scoriæ, vitrified sand, and earth, cemented together; in some parts, beds of cinders only are found. In approaching this cape, there is a strong sulphureous smell, sometimes disagreeable. This smell is prevalent in many parts of the ground to the distance of eight or ten miles from it.

" This point of land is about two miles broad, and on the east and west sides, from the distance of about half a mile from the sea, falls with a gentle declivity to it, and

is joined to the main land on the south by the continuation of the mangrove swamps; so that the bituminous plain is on the highest part of it, and only separated from the sea by a margin of wood which surrounds it, and prevents a distant prospect of it. Its situation is similar to a savannah, and, like them, it is not seen till treading upon its verge. Its colour and even surface present at first the aspect of a lake of water; but it is possible it got the appellation of *Lake* when seen in the hot and dry weather, at which time its surface to the depth of an inch is liquid; and then from its cohesive quality it cannot be walked upon.

"It is of a circular form, about three miles in circumference. At my first approach it appeared a plain, as smooth as glass, excepting some small clumps of shrubs and dwarf trees that had taken possession of some spots of it; but when I had proceeded some yards on it, I found it divided into areolæ of different sizes and shapes: the chasms or divisions anastomosed through every part of it; the surface of the areolæ is perfectly horizontal and smooth; the margins undulated, each undulation enlarged to the bottom till they join the opposite. On the surface, the margin or first undulation is distant from the opposite from four to six feet, and the same depth before they coalesce; but where the angles of the areolæ oppose, the chasms or ramifications are wider and deeper. When I was at it, all these chasms were full of water, the whole forming one true horizontal plane, which rendered my investigation of it difficult and tedious, being necessitated to plunge into the water a great depth in passing from one areolæ to another. The truest idea that can be formed of its surface will be from the areolæ and their ramifications on the back of a turtle. Its more common consistence and appearance

is that of pit-coal, the colour rather greyer. It breaks into small fragments of a cellular appearance, and glossy, with a number of minute and shining particles interspersed through its substance; it is very friable, and, when liquid, is of a jet black colour. Some parts of the surface are covered with a thin and brittle scoria, a little elevated.

" As to its depth, I can form no idea of it; for in no part could I find a substratum of any other substance: in some parts I found calcined earth mixed with it.

" Although I smelt sulphur very strong on passing over many parts of it, I could discover no appearance of it, or any rent or crack through which the steams might issue; probably it was from some parts of the adjacent woods: for although sulphur is the basis of this bituminous matter, yet the smells are very different, and easily distinguished, for its smell comes the nearest to that of pitch of any thing I know. I could make no impression on its surface without an axe: at the depth of a foot I found it a little softer, with an oily appearance, in small cells. A little of it held to a burning candle makes a hissing or crackling noise like nitre, emitting small sparks with a vivid flame, which extinguish the moment the candle is removed. A piece put in the fire will boil up a long time without suffering much diminution: after a long time's severe heat, the surface will burn and form a thin scoria, under which the rest remains liquid. Heat seems not to render it fluid, or occupy a larger space than when cold; from which, I imagine, there is but little alteration on it during the dry months, as the solar rays cannot exert their force above an inch below the surface. I was told by one Frenchman, that in the dry season the whole was an uniform smooth mass; and by another, that the ravins contained water fit for use dur-

ing the year. But neither can I believe: for if, according to the first assertion, it was an homogeneous mass, something more than an external cause must affect it to give it the present appearances; nor without some hidden cause can the second be granted. Although the bottoms of these ramified channels admit not of absorption, yet from their open exposure, and the black surface of the circumjacent parts, evaporation must go on amazingly quick, and a short time of dry weather must soon empty them; nor from the situation and structure of the place is there a possibility of supply but from the clouds. To shew that the progress of evaporation is inconceivably quick here, at the time I visited it there were, on an average, two-thirds of the time incessant torrents of rain; but from the afternoon being dry, with a gentle breeze (as is generally the case during the rainy season in this island), there evidently was an equilibrium between the rain and the evaporation; for in the course of three days I saw it twice, and perceived no alteration in the height of the water, nor any outlet for it but by evaporation.

" I take this bituminous substance to be the *bitumen asphaltum Linnæi.* A gentle heat renders it ductile; hence, mixed with a little grease or common pitch, it is much used for the bottoms of ships, and for which intention it is collected by many; and I should conceive it a preservative against the borer, so destructive to ships in this part of the world.

" Besides this place, where it is found in this solid state, it is found liquid in many parts of the woods; and at the distance of twenty miles from this, about two inches thick in round holes of three or four inches diameter, and often at cracks or rents. This is consequently liquid, and smells stronger of tar than when indurated,

and adheres strongly to any thing it touches; grease is the only thing that will divest the hands of it.

"The soil in general, for some distance round La Bray, is cinders and burnt earth; and where not so, it is a strong argillaceous soil; the whole exceedingly fertile, which is always the case where there are any sulphureous particles in it. Every part of the country, to the distance of thirty miles round, has every appearance of being formed by convulsions of nature from subterraneous fires. In several parts of the woods are hot springs; some I tried, with a well-graduated thermometer of Fahrenheit, were 20° and 22° hotter than the atmosphere at the time of trial. From its position to them, this part of the island has certainly experienced the effects of the volcanic eruptions, which have heaped up those prodigious masses of mountains that terminate the province of Paria on the north; and no doubt there has been, and still probably is, a communication between them. One of these mountains opposite to La Bray in Trinidad, about thirty miles distant, has every appearance of a volcanic mountain: however, the volcanic efforts have been very weak here, as no traces of them extend above two miles from the sea in this part of the island, and the greater part of it has had its origin from a very different cause to that of volcanos; but they have certainly laid the foundation of it, as is evident from the high ridge of mountains which surrounds its windward side to protect it from the depredations of the ocean, and is its only barrier against that overpowering element, and may properly be called the skeleton of the island.

"From every examination I have made, I find the whole island formed of an argillaceous earth, either in its primitive state or under its different metamorphoses. The bases of the mountains are composed of *schistus argil-*

laceus and *talcum lithomargo;* but the plains or lowlands remaining nearly in the same moist state as at its formation, the component particles have not experienced the vicissitudes of nature so much as the more elevated parts, consequently retain more of their primitive forms and properties. As argillaceous earth is formed from the sediment of the ocean, from the situation of Trinidad to the continent, its formation is easily accounted for, granting first, the formation of the ridge of mountains that bound its windward side, and the high mountains on the continent that nearly join it: for the great influx of currents into the gulf of Paria from the coasts of Brazil and Andalusia, must bring a vast quantity of light earthy particles from the mouth of the numerous large rivers which traverse these parts of the continent: but the currents being repelled by these ridges of mountains, eddies and smooth water will be produced where they meet and oppose; and therefore the earthy particles would subside, and form banks of mud, and by fresh accumulations added, would soon form dry land: and from these causes it is evident such a tract of country as Trinidad must be formed. But these causes still exist, and the effect from them is evident; for the island is daily growing on the leeward side, as may be seen from the mud-beds that extend a great way into the gulf, and there constantly increase. But from the great influx from the ocean at the south end of the island, and its egress to the Atlantic again, through the Bocas, a channel must ever exist between the continent and Trinidad."

To consider attentively the *Gulf* of *Paria,* which divides Trinidad from the continent, one is apt to believe that it was torn therefrom, at some period or other, by a convulsion, and the appearance of the Bocases strongly warrants the assumption. Sir William Young, Bart.

when speaking of *Tobago*, is of the same opinion respecting that island*, though, at the same time, I should be inclined to differ from the honourable baronet, for the distance is too great to give credence to his assertion. I do not mean to infer that his opinion is erroneous, but I think he was rather hasty in his conclusions.

The gulf of *Paria* was originally known by the several names of *Gulf of the Whale*, *Gulf Triste*, and *Fresh Water Sea:* its length from east to west is about thirty sea leagues, and its breadth from north to south fifteen. The lesser arm of the river *Oronoko*, *Cano de Pedernales*, or Channel of the Pebbles, and a number of smaller ramifications, of various widths, all flow in a northern direction from the main stream of the river, and bring their tributary oblation to this inland sea, which, together with the waters forced upon the southern continent, by the trade winds, form this gulf, issuing in the manner described in my first letter, through the *Bocases*. The islands in the northern entrance impeding its progress, tend to concentrate it into a body of water, whence the stream originates which runs along the edge of the northern continent, as far as the banks of Newfoundland, and well known to sailors by the appellation of the *Gulf Stream*. The gulf of *Paria* has four issues into the *Atlantic*, three small ones on the eastern side, and a large one about two leagues broad, on the west, almost adjoining to *Paria*. To this, we are told, Columbus gave the name of *Bocas del Drago*, or Dragon's mouth. On the north side also, the gulf is separted from the Atlantic sea, by a narrow neck of fertile land, to which he gave the name of *Paria*, on which stands *Point Salina*, inhabited

* Vide his Tour through several Islands in the years 1791 and 1792.

by a few Indians, who have villages thinly scattered along the coast. The southern and western sides of the gulf are low and swampy as far as the *Cano de Pedernales*, where the *Oronoko* may be said to begin, being the grand canal of communication with the main stream of the river, measuring, in its extreme length, about fifty leagues, with an easy navigation. This river, with regard to its periodical overflowing, is similar, in all respects, to the Nile, beginning about the same time (the month of May), and increasing progressively till October, when it begins to decrease in a gradual manner till the month of April, at which time it is exiguous and stationary. This phenomenon is not peculiar either to the *Oronoko* or the *Nile*; it is common to other rivers, that have their rise or course between the tropics, when heavy rains constantly fall at certain seasons of the year, which cause them to break through ordinary bounds, and overflow the adjacent countries in their passage to the sea, particularly in *Siam, Bengal*, and other parts of the East Indies. The *Etesian*, or northern winds, which annually blow during a certain time, are supposed to contribute not a little to the overflowing of the *Nile*, by retarding its course, and forcing the sea against the mouth of the river. This plausible hypothesis will equally apply to the *Oronoko:* it begins to overflow when the trade wind shifts to the northward of east, and decreases again when it shifts to the southward of east, when the mouth of the river is less exposed to its influence. This, together with the clouds formed by the vapours of the *Atlantic*, as far as the *Cordillieras* (the highest mountains in the universe, extending above 1,500 leagues from the *Isthmus* of *Panama* to the *Streights of Magellan*), where they condense and fall in violent rains, is undoubtedly the cause of its overflow.

But the phenomenon appears, according to Abbé Raynal, to depend more on the sea than on the land; although Father Gumilla, who seems to have examined this singular effect with great attention, is of a contrary opinion, and asserts that it is the rainy season that determines the increase.

Thirst of knowledge, or more properly speaking, thirst of gold, led the enterprizing Raleigh again to the neighbourhood of this river in the year 1616, but extreme sickness preventing his attempt to discover the mines in person, which, he was told, were somewhere on the banks of the *Oronoko*, he deputed the no less gallant Captain Keymis to that service, with five ships. Three weeks afterwards, landing by night, nearer a Spanish town than they expected, they were annoyed by the Spanish troops, who were prepared for their reception. The English, as usual, behaved gallantly, but the obstacles they encountered, with the loss of many a brave fellow, among whom was Sir Walter's eldest son, obliged them to abandon the resolution of exploring the mines. Captain Keymis, to mitigate his ill success, and to induce further hopes, produced two ingots of gold, together with the Spanish governor's papers, among which were found four letters, developing Sir Walter's enterprize to have been betrayed by his enemies at the English court, and the preparation made by the Spaniards to receive him.

"To the just indignation which he conceived on this occasion," says his biographers, "was added the mortification of finding that Keymis had not proceeded to the mines. He reproached that captain with having undone him, and wounded his credit with the king past recovery, This effected Keymis so sensibly, that he retired to his cabin, where he shot himself; but finding the wound

not mortal, he dispatched himself with a knife, which he thrust into his heart."

The ill state of Sir Walter's health would not suffer him to repair Keymis's neglect. He was incapable of such a voyage, and, at the same time, was in continual apprehension of being attacked by the Spanish armada, sent out on purpose to lay wait for and destroy him; but the enemy missed him by staying in the wrong place.

To the eternal dishonor of James I. let it be recorded, that to his shameful duplicity, and dastardly fears, the honor of the nation, the success of the expedition, the lives of many brave men, and the military reputation of Raleigh were sacrificed. For while he encouraged Raleigh, by granting him a special commission for the enterprise, he not only disavowed it by his ministers to the Spanish ambassadors, but, as a proof that he did not wish well to the design, he suffered them to give the ambassadors the particulars of Raleigh's force and destination; which being forwarded to the court of Spain, occasioned the vast preparations that he found ready on his arrival to oppose him.

Sir Walter Raleigh could not forbear reproaching the court for this infamous conduct, in a letter from *St. Christopher* to the secretary of state; and this determined the ministry to take him off, as the only method of extinguishing the hopes of the people, who wished for a war with Spain. Thus you see, by the duplicity of a weak, hypocritical monarch, and his execrable and wicked ministry, in frustrating the progressive prosperity of England, that we did not gain an early footing and possession of the rich banks of the *Oronoko*. Probably it is not yet too late to think of the grand design, which, when undertaken, may be easily accomplished.

Much, my dear Sir, has been anticipated from the proximity of this island to the *Oronoko*, that the indirect commerce would prove importantly beneficial to *Great Britain*. I am one of those who affirm that it would, if means had been adopted to cherish it, without the smallest interruption either in peace or war, provided Trinidad were blessed with a wise and prudent governor, having the prosperity of the country at heart more than his own interest. But instead of that, there has been one whose conduct makes me shudder at the first attempt of its delineation. But the sacred course of truth, and the honor and interest of my country demand the task of some one;—I wish to God it had fallen to the lot of one whose feelings are not so acute as mine; notwithstanding, I am impelled to proceed, inviting justice to aid my endeavours.

After looking over history from the modern days of WALL, to the more antient ones of Nimrod, I cannot find his exact prototype. The nearest assimilation is Dejezzar, described by Baron de Tott in Part iv. of his Memoirs, with this exception only, instead of comparing him to so noble an animal as a lion, he ought to be compared to the bear and wolf, for his cruelty in destroying some of the Spaniards who carried on the indirect commerce, which put a total stop to that beneficial branch.

It is impossible to calculate the injury sustained by his sanguinary measures, not only to individuals, but to the country that employed him. Like Dejezzar, he regarded nothing but making money, though to raise it, he did not proceed to the length of pounding people in mortars, or smothering them in sacks. It is to this barbarity of his talents, and the sordidness of his views alone, that *Great Britain* did not realize considerable advantages from this

colony during the time it has been under her protection. Under her protection did I say? Suffer me to substitute some other word. Ask the wretched inhabitants; ask the plundered merchants of *Port* of *Spain*, how they have been protected from the iron rod of oppression,—and then we shall understand the meaning of British protection, in a British colony, with the Spanish Inquisition, in the successful tide of experiment, instead of the influencial blessings of the English laws:—It is enough to say, that neither commerce nor confidence will ever approach the colony so long as the former is continually at the nod of any wicked governor, to make use of it as an instrument for the realizing his own fortune, and that of his confederates. Believe me, I wish myself in Old England again, for my life is not for a moment safe in this colony, at least so long as the horrid instrument is in the hands of———

Vale.

LETTER VIII.

Colonial Strength—How improved, and the Advantages that might be derived from it—BONAPARTE'S *speculative Views with regard to* South America—*Surinam, his Military* Depot—*Hints which might lead to counteract them*—Jamaica, *why may it not follow the Fate of* St. Domingo—Roome's *Plot*—*General* Christophe's *extraordinary Proposal to the Author, which he declined*—*An Account of the Mutiny of the* 8*th West India Regiment*—*Settling the Island of Trinidad with Africans, and the Danger attending the Increase of* Negro *Troops reprobated, &c.*

Head-Quarters, PUERTO DE ESPANA, *March* 1803.

DEAR SIR,

IT has been remarked by some judicious writers, that "colonial strength consists in the number of whites." The observation is as forcible as it is true, but that strength must be made up of what we call *small planters!* The advantages which would emanate from a white population in this island, are, in my opinion, various; the local ones derived from their industry, are already understood. Let me now consider it in a belligerent point of view. The recent treaty which has been so much reprobated, and in some instances, very properly con-

demned, has put the aspiring Ruler of France in possession of a vast extent of sea coast in this quarter of the globe, we may say from the river *Oronoko*, lat. 8° 25′ N. long. 59° 26′ W. to the river *Amazon*, lat. 0° 18′ N. long. 51° 30′ W. in which are included *Cayenne, Surinam, Berbice, Demerara*, and *Essequibo*. The fruitful and expanding mind of the *Corsican* will not be contented with these *bagatelle* acquisitions,—Spain, impotent Spain, happy under his fraternal care, will not disoblige him, if he demands the full sovereignty of *South America*. *Portugal* will not disoblige him, by refusing her portion,—he is only to ask for it, and he may have it, for those powers are equally as much afraid of him, as the inhabitants of this island are of Picton. The dollars of *Peru* (which he greatly needs) would enable him to contend with *Britain* in commercial and military advantages. In absolute possession of the continent of *Europe*, from the *Adriatic Gulf* to the *German Ocean*, it is in his power to shut every port in that extent, not only against our manufactures, but our colonial produce. This is the situation of *Britain* after a successful war,—a war unparalleled in the history of any country or nation whatever;—the prospect is rather tenebrious——"*Give us peace, and we shall soon do for the British Government.*" This was the boasting language of all the French generals in *St. Domingo*. War, however horrible it sounds, with all its concomitant train of evils, is, in our present predicament better, for peace, under the circumstance of the treaty, would paralise the fundamental principles of our commercial relations. "*French Guyana*," says a *Paris* paper*, "*happily situated to the windward of the Island* (Trinidad), *has been enlarged in extent by a cession of part of the ter-*

* *Journal des Debats* of the 26 Vendémiere, October 16, 1801.

ritory of Portugal, *which opens to our enlightened government a vast field for speculation, agricultural, commercial, and military.*"

This is a very broad hint, if we are willing to embrace it in its limitary import; but, Sir, as we are now situated, it is almost impossible to curb, in these parts, the gigantic strides of the aspiring views of the Corsican, unless *Trinidad* is made a military depot of seasoned whites; if sent when young, they will be able to undergo the baneful effects of military hardships. *Surinam* is the only place to the southward where the French can establish themselves for military purposes: the colony is fertile, capable of furnishing provisions sufficient for an expedition of many months. By having a few ships of war in constant readiness at *Trinidad*, any expedition they might plan there, would be easily frustrated. The distance is short from the east point of this island to *Surinam*, which is laid down in N. lat. 5° 52' W. long. 55° 2' it may be reckoned 438 miles on a south-east half-east course. Whatever may be his views, let us only strengthen ourselves in this island with a white population, and we shall always be ready to make conquests highly important to the British empire, or to yield succours to *Jamaica*, in case it should be attacked. That it will be attacked, if the negroes maintain their independence against the French in *St. Domingo*, is most certain: probably the period is not very remote. My reason for yielding to this belief, is grounded on several conversations I had with General Christophe* two years ago, relative to the re-population of *St. Domingo*. Citi-

* This Negro General is a native of *St. Christopher*; was bred a taylor, and speaks English as correctly as any Creole. He is now second in command in the Empire of *Hayti*.

zen Roome, one of the *ci-devant* commissioners from the National Assembly of *France*, but lately an agent from the Directory, suggested a plan in conjunction with some of his jacobin adherents, to seduce the slaves in *Jamaica*; and with that view dispatched one of them to *Kingston*, who was arrested soon after his arrival, and executed. As this plan had been laid without the knowledge of Toussaint, he ordered citizen Roome to be exiled to a fort in one of the mountains near *Grande Riviere*, about fifteen miles from *Cape François*, where he continued until he was transported to the *United States* in August 1801. One of Roome's plans, as Christophe told me, was to send some small vessels to *Jamaica*, to take away slaves who were willing to embrace freedom. To this Toussaint would not listen, because it was contrary to the treaty he had concluded with general Maitland, to which he wished to adhere with the most scrupulous fidelity. "But the struggle we have had," said Christophe, "in emancipating ourselves, has so thinned this island, as to require efficient measures in order to re-people it; therefore, the general (Toussaint) would be glad to know whether you* would contract to supply him with a few hundred emigrants from *Africa*, agreeable to the terms already proposed." I pointed out the impracticability of any British subject engaging in such a contract, without the consent of the British government, which, I was certain, would never be obtained, and would, likewise, prevent the subjects of any other nation from doing it so long as *Britain* is mistress of the ocean. "Then," said Christophe, "if we cannot procure emigrants by fair and honorable means, we shall adopt some clandestine mode. It is equally as lawful for us to en-

* Meaning the Author.

courage the escape of those in bondage in the neighbouring islands, as it was for the slave trader to take them from *Africa*, consequently it will be worse for the British government. I perceive, after all, we shall be obliged to embrace Roome's plan." The terms which general Christophe alluded to, were to import emigrants (for he always avoided the term negro), from *Africa*, at a certain stated price, who were to be considered redemptioners for fourteen years; the value of each cargo to be either paid in produce, or in specie, which would be lodged in one of the American banks, at the option and disposal of the contractor. I have stated this merely to convince you of the measures that will be pursued by the chiefs of *St. Domingo*, should they support their independence, and the danger the planters of *Jamaica* have to anticipate from that event. Instead of opening the flood-gates of the *Guinea* market upon this new soil, let the government only hold out elegible terms to whites, and you may depend in less than two years (not withstanding the silly outcry against the climate), a vast number of Highlanders from *America* would re-emigrate; —they would be glad to have such a prospect opened to them,—infinitely more preferable than pursuing a sterile existence in the wilderness of *Canada*, on the barren rocks of *Nova Scotia*, or in any part of the *United States*,—where many poor fellows have been deluded to their sorrow, and would wish to better their situation. If the foregoing considerations have any claim on your attention, I trust you will appreciate them as the only foundation on which it will seem practicable to build the future security of the sugar colonies. If the ministry are determined to add to the great bulk of negro bondage, by putting this island on the same footing with the rest, the danger will be greater, for that and im-

becility will certainly take root together. It is an indisputable fact, that a new negro is more prone to insurrection than the creole slave: the latter, subdued by habit and education, is more reconciled to his hard lot than the former, whose spirit is not enough broken by example to bear with patience the cutting lash of the whip. The negro troops already trained, are ready when an opportunity offers, to plunge their bayonets into the bowels of the whites, and will aid the endeavours of their colour in the work of emancipation. The black barbarians of the 8th *West India* regiment have their prototypes in all the other *West India* corps, who are only waiting for a proper opportunity to wreak their vengeance on all whites, like Lieut. Wastnays. This gentleman's fate is such a strong proof of what we have to expect, that it ought to be known to every Englishman who may wish to embark in *West India* speculations. Indeed, the whole detail, as it appeared in the *Barbadoes* Mercury of the 24th of April last, is interesting.

"ROSEAU, DOMINICA, *April* 14, 1802.

"On Saturday morning, the 10th instant, accounts arrived in town, express, to his excellency governor Johnstone, that a mutiny had broke out in the 8th *West India* regiment, of which his excellency is colonel, who, on the preceding evening, had revolted against their officers, and put them to death*; in consequence of which an alarm was fired, and the colony put under martial law, which was sanctioned by a council of war, to con-

* Captain Cameron killed; lieutenant M'Kay ditto; lieutenant Wastnays ditto; commissary Lane ditto; quarter and barrack-master serjeant M'Kay ditto; clerk of the check, Barron, dangerously wounded; and quarter-master serjeant Young, wounded.

tinue for fourteen days. The different corps of militia were immediately assembled in town, and a part of the 68th regiment, with about fifty men of the St. George's, commanded by capt. Dodds, and the St. Luke's independent company, were immediately embarked in some of the drogling vessels, in order to act with the St. John's independent company, commanded by captain Trotter. On Sunday his excellency embarked with the remainder of the 68th, and arrived at *Prince Ruperts* on the evening of the same day. Previous to this the mutineers had made a sortie, in which they had a skirmish with captain Trotter's company, but in the end were repulsed and driven back by that company, supported by the marines of the different ships in the bay *, who effectually continued to keep them within the post, till the force which accompanied the governor was disembarked. His excellency found on his arrival, that terms had been proposed to major Hamilton; after which, several interviews, between parties deputed from the mutineers and our commanders, took place, the result of which was, that they should surrender and lay down their arms, which being agreed to, and that 500 men should march to take possession, the governor, at the head of a detachment from the Royals, commanded by capt. Puxley, from the Saints, about 300 of the 68th, commanded by majors Scott and Hamilton, and the marines commanded by captain ———†, together with some officers and privates of the artillery, entered the garrison, when they found the mutineers drawn up on their usual place of parade, with the colours in their front. They received

* The Magnificent, of 74; Excellent, 74; Severn, 44; and Gaiete sloop of war.

† We have not been able to learn this gentleman's name.

our troops with presented arms, and obliged two of their officers*, whom they had spared from the massacre of Friday night, to take post in their front. The governor drew up his troops in two lines opposite to them, rode to the line of the mutineers, and directed them to shoulder and ground their arms; on which he rode to the rear of the front line. They were then ordered to advance three paces in front; at which moment a serjeant (Church) called out, "No, general—no." The governor then replied, if they did not instantly obey, he would order the troops to fire upon them; on which the whole seized their arms, and a general fire commenced, by which many of the mutineers fell, and the remainder dispersed themselves in different directions. Previous to their dispersion, captain Serrant and lieutenant Beaubois, with the St. Luke's independent company, had received orders to occupy *Fort Shirley*, in which were some few of the mutineers; but being fired upon, and having no instrument with which to force the barrier gate, they were obliged to retreat. After the scene on the parade, many of the surviving fugitives were seen scrambling up the outer cabrit, others fled up the inner one, and those who could attain it, running along the line on the ridge, discharged, as they passed, the cannon which had been previously loaded, and pointed on their pursuers, and then threw themselves headlong over the precipice. Such, however, was the spirit of intrepid activity manifested by every white individual in the garrison, in storming the remaining posts of the mutineers, that in the course of half an hour the whole were completely reduced; and these daring banditti may now be said (except about 130, who are prisoners on board the ships of

* Captain Barre and lieutenant Rivington.

war) to be almost wholly exterminated. It is with great satisfaction we find our own loss has been very trifling, according to the best accounts, amounting to twenty killed and wounded. Lieutenant M'Kay and lieutenant Wastnays appeared to have been peculiar objects of their rage. Lieutenant Wastnay's fate was truly lamentable. These barbarians having stripped him, fastened him to a tree, pricked him with their bayonets, and mutilated him in a most shocking manner, even retarding that death, which would have been a boon, as terminating his sufferings; and the dead body of lieutenant M'Kay, the first victim to their wrath, they equally insulted, by dragging it about the post in a manner too horrid to relate.—The strongest powers of panegyric would be faint to give the due tribute to the merit of every corps which was engaged in the late perilous scenes,—Great praise is due to captain Benjamin Matthews, of the ship Fanny, who volunteered his services, with several of his crew, and whose exertions on this occasion were highly useful. It is with concern we state, that one of his men was dangerously wounded by a grape-shot*."

* The cause of this mutiny is attributed to the colonel the hon. Andrew Cochrane Johnstone, but as he will soon take his trial on four charges exhibited againſt him by major Gordon of the said regiment, it would be premature to offer any comment at present, although I might be justified in matters of fact, as well as in giving the public a detached account of his conduct during the time he was governor of *Dominica*; which, according to the information in my possession, does not evince much prudence. Having hinted this much, it may not, however, be improper to state that colonel Johnstone exhibited charges againſt major Gordon, on whom a court-martial sat from the 30th January, 1804, and continued till the 14th February following, relative to the regiment, when the major was honorably acquitted. Major Gordon has since preferred some charges on which colonel Johnstone will be tried. The first is, for hav-

To this account I feel urged to add the sentiments of the assembly of *Jamaica* respecting these black regiments. "When the assembly agreed to give British pay to 2000 men, the measure was held out as a substitute to avert the evils and imminent dangers at that time apprehended by the inhabitants at large, from having *black* troops raised and sent here, or in other language, armed slaves to defend and protect the rights, the liberties, and properties not only of free men, but of British subjects,—*A measure not only considered to proceed from ignorance of our local circumstances, of our laws, of our constitution, but viewed with abhorrence and indignation, which it could not fail to excite!* Recent occurrences in some of his Majesty's windward islands, and certain instances which have actually occurred of desertion of some of the black troops quartered in this country, fully justify the apprehensions of the people from having a force of this description stationed in their garrisons, the more especially when the dangerous consequences which must follow upon the desertion of the black troops are adverted to. This measure was adopted by his majesty's ministers, regardless of repeated and urgent representations made by the assembly against it, which appear in the journals of the house; that whenever such, or any

ing detained the money intended for the subsistence of the corps in the hands of the paymaster-general for his own use, at the same time well knowing the men were in great want of it, and were maintained by their officers, who made every effort, both by advancing money, and obtaining credit, to keep them quiet, and to prevent the mutiny which actually took place. On this charge I am not at liberty to hazard an opinion, any farther than consistency urges my saying, that the seeds of disorder and insubordination were sown in their minds before the regiment was embodied, and that retarding their pay served only to facilitate the mutineering spirit to an open rupture, which is evident from what has happened.

other military establishment, is found to be inexpedient or dangerous, it is conceived that the subject has an undoubted right to relief; and the house is well assured that his Majesty's paternal goodness will always induce him to gratify the wishes of his faithful subjects in that respect*." The rest of this spirited and prudent resolve goes on to state the reason why they originally agreed to subsist 2000 white troops, as an express stipulation, "that no black military establishment should be raised or sent to *Jamaica*. *An additional inducement for consenting to burden the people with so heavy an expence, and to depart from what they consider to be their inherent right, was the full confidence that most important benefits would be obtained from our white population being augmented by the future colonization of these men and their families in the island; a plan, and the means for effecting which, formed a part of the proposition*†." Without taking a retrospective view of the barbarities of the colour in *St. Domingo*, we have here a sufficient presentiment of what they will do, and the just abhorrence in which they are held by the white people of *Jamaica*, which I hope will stimulate you, Sir, as a member of the Imperial House of Commons, to investigate the baneful tendency of arming the *West India* slaves; and to enable you to bring the question fairly before the house, it would be necessary to have an official return of the various courts-martial for one year only. Since I have been in this place, they have been very prolific in the way of punishment, which is, alternately night and morning, inflicted directly under the window of my apartment. At the rate they

* Proceedings of the House of Assembly of *Jamaica*, *Kingston*, Monday, June 21, 1802.

† Ibid.

go on with it, I must suppose the whole regiment are flogged four times round in the course of a twelve month. Until you get a fair view of these courts-martial, it will be impossible to form a perfect opinion of the nature of the negro regiments and their predilection for crimes:—then you will be convinced how far it is incumbent on the British government to disband them, not in any of the colonies, but in the interior of *Africa*, out of the reach and possibility of doing harm. Bryan Edwards, Esq. the late historian of the colonies, did not entertain that sanguine assurance of their loyalty and obedience, which other authors do; no, he modestly advanced his opinion thus, (speaking of the negro regiments embodied by general Williamson, during the speculative war of *St. Domingo*, and afterwards disbanded by general Maitland, before the *Mole* of *Cape Nichola* was evacuated), "Whether any great dependence might be placed on the proper subordination and loyalty of such a body of men in time of peace, or on their fidelity in time of war, with people of their own cast, (and in cases where no white troops could be brought to co-operate with them), I will not venture to decide*." If the black corps are to be kept on the *West India* establishment, we shall, in time, be able to judge of their loyalty and subordination,—probably not sufficiently until they have set up a form of government for themselves, like their neighbours in *St. Domingo*; and this, I imagine, we may safely predicate will be the issue of the speculation. I intreat you, Sir, to peruse and weigh well the foregoing considerations, also to analyze the hints I have thrown out respecting a white population, before the crown lands are disposed of in this island, which will

* Vide his Postscript to the Historical Survey of *St. Domingo*, vol. iii. p. 399.

immediately open a vast prospect to a few individuals in Liverpool, and will enable them to continue to ride in their coaches, eat turtle, and drink port or claret. Before you suffer twenty millions of British money to rush into the luxuriant soil of *Trinidad*, it is prudent to inquire who is likely to reap the benefit of it ultimately. Be not biassed by the golden dreams of avarice; let humanity alone guide you before you plant the old system in this new soil; but if you think there is not enough of misery already in the western hemisphere, crying out to the British government for redress, you will, in that case, give the crown lands to the best bidder, and a million of murders will soon be added to the sins of *Britain!*

I remain, &c.

P. S. The best way, in my humble opinion, to employ the negro troops is, in case hostilities should be declared against *Spain* at any future period, they might be employed in the reduction of some of the rich towns and territories belonging to that power in this quarter of the world. That a conquest, highly important to *Great Britain*, might be attained, is by no means impossible, which would open a wide field to our commerce and manufactures, and might ultimately lead to the complete subjugation of either *Mexico* or *Peru*, where there is as much treasure as would pay off the national debt.

LETTER IX.

Apprehension of Danger—The Illustrious Cabildo, *or the Inquisition—Law Proceedings—Plaintiff and Defendant—*Escrivanos, *or Lawyers—Swindling Anecdote—The Author's Visit to the* Bastille—*The Horrors of it portrayed—Commission illegally issued by* Picton *to destroy Negroes accused of Witchcraft—The Proceedings under this Commission described—*Rosetta Smith, *her influence—*J. B. Vallot, *his office—Murder of a Negro—*Don Phillip Langdon, *his Mode of silencing a* Dun—*The oppressive Imprisonment of Mr.* Dowding, *&c. &c.*

Head-Quarters, PUERTO DE ESPANA, *March* 1803.

DEAR SIR,

SINCE the commencement of these letters, I frequently indulged the idea of relinquishing altogether my present pursuits, from the many difficulties with which I am circumvented, and the danger I am exposed to in a colony governed by the Inquisition. If the members of it only knew that my pen is so devoted to the cause of humanity, they would soon torture the hand that holds it; therefore I am obliged to be extremely cautious, least my inquiries should insinuate suspicion: I shall be as expeditious as possible in order to

leave a colony already so much a prey to calumny and faction. The *Inquisition*, or as it is mildly and most nobly termed, the *Illustrious Cabildo*, consists of thirteen members, who meet every Monday to plot destruction; it is composed of a French junto of jacobins, the dregs of *Spain*, and the filthy outcasts of the scum of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. From this putrid vortex are annually chosen two judges, one styled judge of the first election, and the other judge of the second, who act independent of each other, and hold separate tribunals, but each to the same purport, where causes are tried in the following manner, though the real code of laws upon which they act, I am unable to comprehend, nor do I learn they have any code at all; neither that justice has any share in the system. I learn this from the very best authority, that, however malignant, cruel, and corrupt the Spanish *Code des Indes* is, and which they make some pretence of following, they have so far overtaken it, as to build upon it a system of cruelty even hitherto unauthorised by Cortez and his barbarian followers:—hence every clause remote from reason makes a link in the chain of the *Trinidada jurisprudentia*.

The plaintiff, who might as well pretend to stop the torrent of the gulf of *Paria* in its progress through the *Bocases*, as to look for justice in the equity of his cause, unless he has doubloons enow to sport on the issue of it, goes to work by employing an *Escrivano* to express the merits of his cause, which is done by *scrito*, or petition to either of these judges, who, on receiving it, signs his name at the bottom, often without reading the contents or the prayer, according as the glittering presents attending it will interest his fancy. The defendant employs another, and sometimes the same *Escrivano*, who replies by *scrito* after the same manner, and so they go

on like a horse in a mill for months and years, until the *Escrivanos* have accumulated their *scritos* to several hundreds. As it is their interest to multiply the *scritos*, as much as possible, they continue till they ruin either, or both, the plaintiff and defendant. The judges proceed in the like manner to try criminal causes, and as they are not restricted in partiality, they very often punish the innocent instead of the guilty, on a mere shadow of accusation, whereas they suffer the very guilty to pass without punishment, although the evidence of criminality be at once as self evident as the light of the sun. I wonder how far the British government will suffer them to proceed without making an inquiry into their proceedings? And how long are they determined to allow a large portion of his Majesty's subjects to lay, as it were, exposed to be preyed upon at the mercy of such a horde, similar, in all respects, to the gallinazoes?*. There is another species of these violators of justice, called Alcaldes of the Bario, meaning, I understand, Justice of the Street, chosen from among a ragamuffin crew that would disgrace the purlieus of St. Giles. They determine simple causes with the same partiality and injustice as the former, but more flagrant and disgraceful if possible, and as they are equally ignorant, consequently the fruits of their decisions will be found accordingly.

The last, and minor members of the Inquisition that must ever remain as a monument of infamy, and will occupy a long page of disgraceful obloquy in the historic

* Gallinazo, or American vulture, a ravenous and filthy bird that feeds on carrion, and who instantly devours all dead carcases which the hunters have skinned. They are better known in this island by the appellation of the Governor's Life Guard, from the alacrity with which they devoured those who had been hanged.

volumes of the British colonies, is the *Escribanos*. If they can write, it is all the education required, but they must give strong proof of their depravity of character before they can be admitted; they are indeed addicted to every kind of depraved habits; and what is very surprising, they are intrusted with every man's public affairs, for their offices are the only repositories for all deeds, instruments, &c. drawn by themselves. It will appear, from the different accounts I have heard, that this body of miscreants have acted very shocking deeds since the colony has been in the possession of *Great Britain*. Were I to relate every instance communicated to me since I began to inquire into their conduct, I should swell my correspondence to an enormous bulk. I beg leave to present you with a few *innocent* fragments only of their guilt, as a feature from which you may make due and accurate deductions.

Some little time since one of them of the name of Don Diego de Alcala, was detected by a M. Begorrat in forging the signature of the prior governor Chacon, to a sentence in favour of some person or other who was not entitled to it, for which he received six hundred dollars. M. Begorrat used his utmost endeavours to bring him to the punishment the magnitude of his crime demanded, but as he was a favourite of governor Picton, who did not seem to wish his friend any harm, notwithstanding there were many other crimes of the like import loudly calling out for justice against him, he escaped the secret conclave of which he was a member; but, perhaps the constitution of the colony placed him above the reach of doing wrong. Some weeks previous to his being detected in these forgeries, he was sent for by a French gentleman of the name of B———, who had lately arrived,

who being indisposed, and possessing a large property in the island, had his will made by Don Diego in the Spanish language, a language which the French gentleman and his children did not understand, to whom he thought he had legally bequeathed his property. It so happened that M. B—— recovered, and was induced to send to Don Diego's office for a copy of the will, with a view to submit it to the careful perusal of one of his friends who understood the language, when, to his great astonishment, the will in question was found regularly drawn in favour of people he had never known, and consequently total strangers to him. It was drawn in favour of Don Diego's own wife and children, without a shilling to M. B——'s nine sons and daughters. He was neither tried nor punished for this direct robbery, only suspended in the seat he held in the Inquisition. Notwithstanding his many errors and crimes, he will certainly be an important witness when the secrets of the Inquisition become the subject of parliamentary investigation, which, I trust, for the known humanity and justice of my country, will be soon called for. Will the Almighty God prosper *Britain* when it fosters and protects a spot like this, already so deluged with horrid crimes? To go on; I visited the *Bastille* the other day: in the lower department, which appeared to me in somewhat like a hen-coop, but probably about twenty feet square, were lodged no less than one hundred negroes, with large ugly heavy chains riveted about their necks, waists, &c.; and, to my great astonishment, several British seamen confined in the same filthy hole of an apartment along with them. Pasing by one of them, he gave me a benignant glance, with a large swelling tear suspended on his eyelid, which I construed to this effect, though he said something I could not well hear. "I have been more than eight

years fighting the external foes of *Great Britain:* this is the delightful manner I am treated by her internal ones: what a reward for my services!" I inquired the reason why the poor tars were confined, and found it was for the *great crime* of being out late in the street, a little disguised. If they are liable to be confined for these simple *crimes,* why is their confinement made so ignominious to the gallant lads, who deserve better treatment? But, alas! power will be abused in all places out of *England.* In some adjacent cells were lodged about thirty or more poor Africans of all ages, accused of witchcraft, necromancy, &c.: all these unfortunate creatures were shackled and rivetted to the ground, much exhausted with a long and tedious confinement, and extreme heat in a dirty hole; it is remarkable they sustain existence, upon the simple diet of impure water and plantains. These last unfortunate creatures are tried by a deputation from the Inquisition, usually consisting of some French inhabitants, who proceed to trial upon vague grounds of accusation, under a commission illegally issued by Governor Picton*. It is a well known fact to those who are acquainted with the manners and customs of the Africans, that they are fond of collecting and carrying about with them any kind of bauble they may promiscuously meet with, either in the fields, rivers, or elsewhere. Now, Sir, so timid, or otherwise so diabolically ignorant and depraved are the French and Spanish inhabitants of *Trinidad,* and so easy is Picton's mind influenced to sacrifice the life of a fellow-creature, which he seems to consider of no value, that he immediately believes all the trifles the Africans carry about them, are to assist some supernatural talent or other; this is sufficient to put them to death.

* This identical commission is now before the Privy Council.

I have seen many of the baubles taken from some of these poor victims of human ignorance and human cruelties, which consisted of nothing else but fossils, bones of various animals, stones, seeds of plants, and small pieces of metal belonging to different kinds of furniture. To me these baubles appeared quite innocent, and I dare say, will equally so to the majority of the enlightened world, unless they implicitly believe certain paradoxes advanced by some antient writers. PLINY says, HISTOR. lib. vii. "that there are in *Africa* clans of men who blast trees, kill children, horses and herds of cattle, by magic;" and AULUS GELLIUS says, in his *Noctes Atticæ*, that in *Africa* also, are "some families who bewitch by the tongue, and by praising, blast trees, kill brute animals and children." Is it possible to believe what DE LANCRE says, in page 507, that "a conjuror did great mischief by uttering these unintelligible words, *Vach, Veck, Stest, Sty, Stu?*" And again, PIETRO DELLA VALLE asserts, in his 16th letter, that "certain conjurors, who, barely looking on, eat the hearts of men, and sometimes the hearts of cucumbers." "Those who try and condemn the poor unfortunate Africans in this place, believe all those things more than they do the gospel. When a criminal is brought before them, he is accused of "making a sort of powder which produces insects, to revenge all the produce of the estate or plantation, inventing by the power of certain words and charms to destroy the canes, and do other mischief; such as bewitching one by his hat, another by his shoes, and another by the latch of his door, turning his money into dung, or pieces of horn, and devouring a man's heart; giving cruel uneasiness, and inflicting burning pains on their fellow-slaves, and their masters and mistresses, killing them, and blasting trees, &c." It is cruel to relate (but

the sacred cause of God and truth impel me); if slaves are brought before this deputation to give evidence against the criminal, who will refuse to give such evidence as may lead to the conviction of the accused, they (the witnesses) are put to the torture or picketted! Some in order to avoid this excruciating punishment, give false testimony, and others again who had firmness to adhere to truth, have lingered away their lives in close confinement. Rosetta Smith, the *aspera & horrenda virgo* of government-house, acts the part of Inquisitorial-General, whose business it is to accuse the unfortunates above mentioned, as well as all others, white or black.

"Who breaks with her, provokes revenge from Hell!"

As she will have a conspicuous place in my subsequent correspondence, I shall take her up less often than I have occasion, but beg leave to lay her aside for the present, until I have an opportunity of introducing her to you in form. With her is connected in these horrid transactions, JEAN BAPTISTE VALLOT, Provost-Martial of the Inquisition, pimp, pander, and spy to the whole fraternity, as well as inspector of witchcraft, magic, &c. It is his business, in conjunction with his patron, to invent new species of tortures for slaves. They order the ears of runaways to be cut off contrary to the will of the proprietors, and have the superintendence of all the indecent castigations, for which they receive a certain fee for each slave. Hence, being lucrative, the more that are castigated, the more profitable to the concern.

Some time in the year 1801, a slave belonging to a Mr. Macnamara, having run away, was taken; Picton, as usual, ordered his ears to be cut off. In the operation of this cruel mandate in the yard belonging to the Bastille,

the unhappy object dropped down dead. "Fear," says my informant, "probably caused the effect, for I could not perceive (but I was too far distant to observe minutely) that the *juglum* was molested." The dismal looking monster VALLOT was present, who seemed much elated on account of his having received his fees previous to the execution. "The same day," continued my informant, (Mr. Dowding, who was confined more than two years and a half in the Bastille), "I saw another black negro receive a most severe castigation, until the skin was wholly excoriated from his posteriors. I was curious enough to ask this bleeding victim, who was his master, and what he had done to merit so severe a punishment? He replied, that he had no master, was a free man; but what is freedom in this colony? He formerly belonged to an English gentleman of humanity in the island of *Grenada*, who had been so benevolent in his last pangs as to bequeath him his freedom, as a just recompense for his past services. He came over to *Trinidad* to obtain employment as a wood-cutter, and was accordingly employed by a Mr. Langton, for whom he successfully worked until seventy dollars were due to him. Being in want of some money to sustain himself, he demanded a part only from his employer, who refused to give him any, telling him to continue the work, and that he would pay him at a future period. To this the poor fellow would not comply, alledging that he could not work without eating, and he must have money to purchase eatables, as nobody would give him credit for them. Upon which he was arrested, and thrown into the common dungeon, when Vallot finding he had no person to take his part, claimed him as his property for the jaol fees. He received this castigation for having been rather disguised. I then asked him whether there were no means of obtaining

justice; to which he replied in his own dialect thus:—
"*Gubnah da one debble, de jayla da hee broder, an de jail da hell. When jayla say hang um, Gubnah say teek de rope!!*"
"This exornation excited my risible faculties as much as previously his treatment had claimed my commiseration; accordingly, I left him in the most excruciating pain, putting a dollar in his hand to console him in his unhappy situation."

There are many more of these disgusting scenes of depravity in my possession, but I think you have here enough of them to wish the prime mover of them in private the benison of all tyrants.

Anxious as I am to proceed with this narrative, with as few interruptions as possible, I cannot avoid pausing for a moment at such a scene as is here presented, in the execution of this diabolical commission. Are we to conclude that the wretches who compose it believe in the potency of drugs, charms, conjuration, and mighty magic, and in sentencing those poor creatures to death, do they believe they are performing a duty they owe to truth? Or must we admit that they deride such exploded notions as unworthy of credit, and yet are so debased by their fear, or won by their interest, as to execute whatever the author of this commission commands, however detestable or shocking to justice and humanity? Alas! in either case, the character of human nature suffers:—In one case she is reduced below the level of savage ignorance, and in the other below the depth of savage depravity.

Having mentioned Mr. Dowding, it is not my duty to pass him over in silence,—his long and tedious confinement merits my attention; and I hope an illegal and wanton exertion of authority will claim some consideration in your humane heart, at whatever period his hard case may come under your reprobation. This gentleman is a native of *Barbadoes*, and, I believe, had been many years

in *England* attending his education, where he has many respectable friends and connections in the mercantile line. He came here about three years ago on some business or other of that nature.

Opposite to the house he occupied was a grog-shop, or more properly speaking, a disorderly house, kept by a Spaniard, and a place of resort for vagabonds of every colour and description, who took it into their heads to make it a constant practice of leaving their filth at his door. He complained of the nuisance to the officer of the police, a Frenchman of the name of Lasauvagier, who told Mr. Dowding that he must take the aggressors whenever he detected them, and carry them to prison. Mr. Dowding very properly replied that he could not with propriety take upon him the duty of a magistrate. These vagabonds finding that Mr. Dowding received no redress from the officer abovementioned, persevered in their former conduct, but in a more open and aggravated manner, till they were detected one evening by his servant. Mr. Dowding, irritated at these repeated acts of insult, pursued them with a stick,—they were too nimble for him, therefore escaped a well merited chastisement. The next morning Mr. Dowding received a message from an Alcalde of the name of Bernard, to appear before him to answer to a complaint of an assault preferred against him by those vagabonds, which he obeyed, attended by some respectable neighbours to prove his innocence, if necessary. It was to no purpose, for the Alcalde, partial to his Spanish friends, sentenced Mr. Dowding to the Bastille for an hour or two, who was of course obliged to comply, but with the prospect of being liberated; however, to his great astonishment, General Picton, instead of liberating him, confirmed the unjust decree, and desired him to quit the colony without delay, notwithstanding Mr. Dowding

remonstrated against the second unjust decree, very properly alledging the particular mercantile affairs in which he was concerned would, if he obeyed, prove very prejudicial to his interest, besides having landed property in the island, and unconscious of being a transgressor in any one instance whatever, he was firmly impelled to resist the new mandate, in itself not only arbitrary, and inconsistent, but not extraordinary in the annals of Picton's administration; which evinces to your candid judgment how far the interest of the colony, and that of *Great Britain* has been regarded by the military mamouth, in the ill-treatment he manifested towards this gentleman, whom he immured in an unwholesome prison, the Bastille of the Inquisition, for more than, as I have already said, two years and a half, and he might have continued in that situation to the end of his days, had not the benevolent colonel Fullarton introduced him once more to society and personal liberty. It is superfluous to mention, that upon the arrival of the colonel, he was (as an innocent man) set at liberty! I have no comment whatever to make on the important and disgraceful facts which I have exhibited in this letter; I leave them to the reprobation of every admirer of British humanity and British freedom.

Ad interim vale.

LETTER X.

Preliminary Remarks—A Biographical Sketch of Governor Picton—*His Origin and Connections, with his first Career in* Trinidad—*A common Mode of "raising the Wind," displayed—Custom-house Rats and Panders—His false Exploits trumpeted—His disgusting Conduct to Strangers reprobated—Madam* Rosetta *selected for a Mistress to prevent a Repetition of certain Crimes—The Honey Moon—Presents bestowed for Secret Services—Her Ascendancy—Her peculative and plundering Excesses—Resistance dangerous—The Governor sunk in the Lap of Ease—*Rosetta *takes the Reins of Government into her own Hands—Her first Act of Cruelty directed towards Mrs.* Griffiths *and her Daughters—The Governor remonstrated with on this Occasion—His romantic Reply—The illegal Execution of a Serjeant of the Royal Artillery, and a French Planter—Slaves clandestinely carried away, and the Planters plundered—General Reflections, &c.*

Head-Quarters, PUERTO DE ESPANA, *March* 1803.

DEAR SIR,

DR. BLAIR somewhere remarks, "that the history of mankind has ever been a continued tragedy,—the world a great theatre, exhibiting the same repeated scene of the follies of men shooting forth into

guilt, and of their passions fermenting by a quick process into misery."

Though biography is not only a beacon to warn, but furnishes a bright example to imitate, it is singular that the lives of vicious characters, and the hated colours in which they are exhibited, should not have more or less an influence on the callous and unprincipled. One would suppose that the bare idea of being handed down to posterity as a monument of depravity, would at times check the vicious machinations, and stay the atrocious deed; but instead of having this benign effect, we frequently see men perched on the giddy heights of power, sink into the abyss of apathy, experiencing no melody but from the sound of torture. It is no less strange that the flagrant flowers strewed on the graves of real worth, should not stimulate mankind to virtuous actions. That the finger of scorn, which has ever been pointed at the tyrants who governed *Sicyon*, *Verres*, Prætor of *Sicily*, or at the three WORTHIES, celebrated by Pope in his Moral Essays, Ward, Waters, and Chartres, does not tend to correct the example that leads to execration.

The ingenuous mind, however, shrinks affrighted at the contemplation of such monsters as the classic page often portrays. The indignant feelings of the soul are solemnly roused to brand and appreciate the sanguinary tyrant, and the worthless minion, such as a Tiberius, a Nero, or a Sejanus, amidst the splendour of usurped power, and the barefaced flattery of grovelling pimps and sycophants. But these as they are characters who have acted their part at a distant theatre, having long ago made their exit, are not so well calculated to make an impression at this period as those who have lately started up in *France*, and those who are connected with us in the ties of country, religion, and manners. With these prelimi-

naries, I beg leave to commence a description of some of the characters now around me. I shall not attempt to conceal the truth, nor invent falsehood, for I have enough of the former, without resorting to the latter. I shall act with them according to Sir Matthew Hales' maxim, "*Let me remember when I find myself inclined to pity a criminal, there is likewise a pity due to the country.*"

Thomas Picton, as being the leading character, claims our first attention. He was born of obscure parents somewhere on the mountains of *South Wales*. I am totally unacquainted with his early progress in life, or with his relations, any farther than that he has a sister married in *New York*, to a peddling broker of the name of Bette, who was originally an itinerant showman or player in the *United States* of *America*; at other times a sailor, &c. He came here about two years ago to pay a visit to his brother-in-law, who being elevated in a most extraordinary manner to the appellation of "*Excellency*," which none of the family ever enjoyed before or since the days of Caractacus, it was some time before little *Bette* could be recollected in the pomp and grandeur of the great man's court, and even then it was with that coldness, which manifested a treasonable abuse of friendship, and an inward perplexity, the constant companion of pride, with a sort of secret sense of unworthiness that sunk him amidst his triumph and fancied greatness.

There are some pitiful wretches, who having just emerged, by a perverse partiality of fortune, from the lowest condition, conceive that the only way of shewing themselves qualified to maintain their new character, is to manifest an extreme scorn for their old one; and that, to evince an elevation of mind proportioned to their rise of fortune, they have only to discard the associates and witnesses of their humble beginnings; which puts me

in mind of the poet's account of the metamorphosis of Atlas into a mountain; "his beard and hair shot up into a huge forest; his shoulders and hands became ridges; his head supported the place of a pinnacle; his bones were converted into rocks; and his whole person swelled out to a monstrous size, on which all the stars of heaven reposed." Bette returned (as I am informed) disgusted at the change in his brother-in-law's deportment, as well as his morals, who mistook pride for dignity, giving himself airs of importance, and behaving to all as if haughtiness were his exclusive prerogative, as though civility belonged only to private men; yet instead of being respected, he was the reverse. Sensible that his conduct provoked laughter, and deserved ridicule, he told him one day at table, that, with all his greatness, he was sure his situation was much more enviable when they lived in *Wales* on twenty pounds a-year, than as he then was governor of *Trinidad*.

He came here as lieutenant-colonel when the island was conquered under the command of the much lamented Sir Ralph Abercromby, who appointed him governor. He, like many others, entered upon public life too early; was invested with the supreme authority of a commercial colony, before he obtained the knowledge of governing himself, consequently formed systems in haste, upon false premises,—on erroneous theories, erected upon the chimerical fabric of a treacherous foundation.

Elated with his elevated situation, he vainly imagined he should find favour in the eyes of his Sovereign (who is literally speaking the father of his people), by pushing authority much farther than had hitherto been attempted by delegated majesty. In this island Sir Ralph found a considerable number of British runaways, or more properly speaking, if I may use the expression, *'scape-hemps*,

from the other West India Islands; men who would disgrace, if possible, either the soil of *America* or *Botany Bay*. The Spaniards encouraged, and their laws protected them; hence, before it was captured, it was like *America*, a rookery for fugitive vagabonds of every description. Dreams of avarice, and its proximity to the main, held out delusive prospects at a distance to mercantile men, who came with their articles to realize the golden dreams. To the planters they sold on credit, under the idea of probity, little dreading that the laws of the colony were in the hands of those of whom I have, in my preceding letter, attempted to give a faint delineation. Betrayed by these circumstances, it could not be expected, after the unfortunate merchant was precipitated into the snare of villainy, his credit would maintain itself at home without making returns, which could not be made, as the laws of *Trinidad* prevented the planter being honest, at least they would not oblige him, if he was inclined to avail himself of their protection; the consequence was, as might be anticipated, the merchant became insolvent; some returned home to give an account of their misfortunes, and others remained overwhelmed with *ennui*. Elated with the dazzling refulgence of his elevation, with the mark of the beast distinctly evident on his forehead, Picton was ready, upon all occasions, to authorise, if not to foment any measure, however scandalous and mischievous, which tended to the augmentation of his fortune; finding himself firmly fixed under the auspices of the Inquisition, he began to look round him, designing to make his reign as profitable as possible. The tools he selected to put his designs into execution, were like himself, corrupt by constitution, and had their origin in filth, whose lives might as well be measured by their crimes as by their days, making a jest of fame, and

laughing at virtue;—he found them ready to second any iniquity with greediness. With such exhalations, drawn from the rankest fens and foulest ditches, he began his career in this island.

Among the first things that attracted his attention, was the *vendue* office, which yielded monthly five hundred dollars, if not more. Gambling-houses, of which there are many, afforded considerable gain; every billiard-table paid, and now pays monthly sixteen dollars. The custom-house, I was told, was a profitable concern, but what share he had of its enormous fees, I have not been able to learn, however, it is of no consequence,—the following statement will enable you to form some idea of the lucrative situation of the custom-house *rats*. You have plenty of such vermin at home, who are, like those that are here, preying on commerce. When the evil is accounted legitimate at the fountain-head, we should not complain of its nuisance at this remote distance: to be upon a par with those at home, the fees ought to be doubled. The captain of the British schooner, Eclipse, (Parker), of seventy tons burthen, in the service of the contractor, Mr. Cruden, of *Barbadoes*, entered 300 barrels of flour, and cleared forty head of cattle, upon which he paid the following fees:

	Dollars.	*Bitts.**
Collector	40	0
Naval Officer	11	6½
Comptroller	20	5
Colonial Secretary	6	0
Searchers	5	5
Harbour Master	4	5
Fort	1	0
	89	3½

* Nine Bitts make a Dollar in this island.

The American schooner, Aspasia, of ninety-eight tons, also paid

	Dollars.	*Bitts.*
Collector	39	0
Naval Officer	16	6½
Comptroller	13	3½
Colonial Secretary	6	0
Searchers	12	2½
Harbour Master	9	5½
Fort	3	0
	100	0

In addition to this, may be reckoned the fandango licences, which cost eight dollars a-piece. In short, every thing that was capable of being made lucrative, he turned to his advantage, so that the first year of his government yielded more than £.15,000, most of which sum, however, I am well informed, was obtained by oppression and peculation. The oppressor and peculator, I have always considered the pests of society. The plea of a series of national services (even where there is a colour for it), cannot palliate the charge of having made thousands miserable; but, I cannot find that this oppressor and peculator has any such plea to urge, unless indeed we explode truth for a while, to give credence to his panders, when they boast of his false exploits, in frustrating invasions, insurrections, witchcraft, mighty magic, &c. which they have been in the habit of trumpeting so long, that they now firmly believe the reality of what was originally the child of imagination. Supposing their empty assertions were really well founded, will it for a moment diminish the crimes and the cruelties laid to his charge which I am about to develope?

Settlers (British) began now to crowd into the island; they were all obliged, as soon as they landed, to be introduced to him, according to the usual custom of the *West India* islands, when he never failed (if he disliked the appearance of any of the strangers) to usher them to his mirador; and after pointing out to them a gallows which he had caused to be erected in an oblique direction from his house, he used thus to accost them: "Look at that gallows, Sir! if you do not behave yourself properly, you may depend on being hanged,—go about your business, and let me not hear any complaint about you."

What a salutation for a British subject from a British governor, in a British island! One would be apt to sup-

pose, though born and bred among the goats on the mountains of *Wales*, that he might have had a little more sense, than to make use of such language to the meanest of his Majesty's subjects, who are taught, by the constitution of *England*, to believe that they were not created to be the sport of any tyrant whatever, within the pale of that immortal fabric! A reception so harsh, so blasphemously absurd, did not fail to gain governor Picton a formidable host of enemies. At this early period of his career, he was very lonely for want of a domestic partner to share his amorous embraces, to ease his mind of the arduous duties of his station; but no one could be conveniently found suitable to his taste, which, *en passant*, is not very refined. Hence, it is said of him as was said of a late Antigua governor (Park), who was put to death by the inhabitants for his cruelties, that *"he neither spared a man in his rage, nor a woman in his lust."* How far he merits this assimilation, it will be soon in your power to judge. * * *

had several pimps who foraged for him,—black or livid coloured were equally welcome to his depraved embraces. After much trouble and many vexatious efforts, a loving fair one was found congenial to his mind, of the name of Rosetta Smith, of whom I made honourable mention in my preceding letter. She was solicited to leave her husband and her children, to become Lady Governess. Allured by ambition, she abandoned every thing dear to the imagination of a female, to share the pillow and power of the greatest man in the colony; and as he is called "the most potent governor in his Majesty's dominions." Soon after the honey moon was over, he presented her with the fuel contract for the garrison, saying, "*Accept of this* bagatelle, *my darling*; *the profits of it will enable you to buy trinkets, &c.*" The profits of this *bagatelle*, as he was pleased to call it, enabled Rosetta to bribe almost all the kept ladies in the colony to reveal the secrets of their paramours, and thereby he became acquainted with the sentiments of the inhabitants generally. Those who unguardedly insinuated their disapprobation, or animadverted on his tyrannical conduct, became the immediate objects of his vindictive rage, were arrested and confined in the bastille, amongst negroes afflicted with loathsome distempers; their friends and acquaintanees were denied the satisfaction of visiting them, and even the common comforts of life frequently denied. I intreat you to pause for a moment, while you give a full scope to your imagination, to anticipate, if possible, the feelings which must necessarily occur under such a degrading predicament. Incarcerated in a nauseous prison, without a breath of fresh air, respiring the putrid exhalation copiously emitted from your fettered fellow-prisoners, the clangour of their chains, together with their hideous yells, must assimilate your situation to that

of the infernal regions. Your mind would be either racked with horror, or corroded with despair and resentment against him who thus hell-doomed you; but, all this was extremely gratifying to Governor Picton, whose sole delight was to torment indiscriminately.

" Ah! what a scene of horror! with'ring there,
" Where men, by despots robb'd of light and air,
" In fetid dungeons left to rot alone,
" Their cause unpleaded, and their crime unknown;
" Doom'd to hold converse with thick damps, and tell
" Their flinty beds, they found this life a hell."

Rosetta, though not tinctured with humanity, was however prompted by avarice to visit the recesses of horror, to tender her services, and for a few doubloons would set them at liberty; so that it appears that this method of "raising the wind" was too lucrative not to be followed with peculiar attention. Her influence over his mind increased the more he discovered her talents of accumulating wealth, consequently nothing was resorted to that would tend to embarrass her financial operations. There is hardly a store or shop in this town but she regularly visited;—any article that took her fancy (particularly toys) she would carry away without paying for it; indeed it would be death to take notice of her. I have heard only of one person who dared to resist her encroachments. Whereupon she flew in a rage to government-house, and complained to governor Picton of this gentleman's insolence in refusing her some trinkets. A file of soldiers were instantly dispatched for the offender, and he was ignominiously dragged to government-house, when colonel Picton thus accosted him: "You are a pretty fellow, a d——d insolent jacobin rascal; I'll make an example of you, to shew the rascals I govern; that I will be obeyed." One of his judges made his ap-

pearance, and after a few minutes private conference, the gentleman was ordered to the bastille for sedition.

It is customary with him never to hear both sides of a question. If any malicious individual of his junto, or their dependants, had taken the least umbrage against another person, however modest and innocent his deportment, by giving a fee to Rosetta, the unfortunate accused would be either hanged, burnt, put in the bastille, or otherwise punished. Rosetta now regulated the government, commanded the military*, held her *levee* twice a week, which was numerously attended by a croud of sycophants, male and female panders, &c. Those who did not pay their *devoirs*, might apprehend trouble, if not destruction. An instance of this nature soon followed. Mrs. Griffiths, and two amiable daughters, never attended the *levee*, therefore, Rosetta marked them out for destruction. It is unnecessary to remark, that if they did attend the *levee* of this MEDEA, their conduct would be deemed no less than extremely reprehensible by those who hold virtue in esteem; for, without that inestimable jewel, the fair sex would present nothing but a disgusting shadow of uniform depravity, the baneful effects of which we see strongly exemplified in the case before us. Dr. Johnson says, that "virtue is merely local. In some situations the air diseases the body, and in others poisons the mind†." That as it may, I am not going to dispute the matter with the doctor, but to assert that it is a crime to be virtuous in this island, and for that reason, these ladies experienced implacable resentment. They inhabited a house belonging to themselves in Queen Street,—

* I do not mean to assert that she commanded the forces publicly, but that she was commander in chief privately, may be credited as an absolute fact.

† Idler, vol. ii. p. 2.

Rosetta sent a message to them, which imported that she wanted to purchase the house. They took no notice of the impudent wretch, nor her message, as they did not want to part with their property. Rosetta (having the power of torturing at her command), persisted in her former demand,—was resolved to have the house right or wrong,—sent a guard of soldiers with her diabolical orders to confine the old lady and her daughters, together with their attendants, to a small apartment in the house; to prevent every intercourse with either their friends or their neighbours, and the necessaries of life from being conveyed to these distressed females. One gentleman, of whose compassionate heart I have seen repeated instances, and who is an honour to the country which gave him birth (*England*), was stimulated by the god-like feelings which gave him a distinguished pre-eminence over the rest of his countrymen in this place. Being in the neighbourhood, he contrived some means to relieve them, but his beneficent wishes were soon defeated, by his being detected in conveying a kettle of hot water to them at the back of the premises, to make a little tea for themselves. They were besieged so closely afterwards, both in front and rear of the house, that they were ultimately obliged to capitulate to Rosetta's forces. She has held the conquest ever since (say four years), which brings her in eight hundred dollars *per annum!* Now, whether this money goes into Picton's pocket, or is added to the profits of the fuel contract, to purchase Rosetta more trinkets, &c. is a question I am not able to elucidate; however, it is of no consequence, since the act itself will rouse your indignation, and make you exclaim with the poet—

> " Calmly to practice injuries pre-designed,
> " Argues the baseness of a villain's mind.

I have been told that some gentlemen remonstrated with Picton on this shameful prostitution of authority and robbery, and at the same time urged that his partiality for Rosetta had been already too conspicuous in many instances. To some he alledged he did not interfere with Rosetta's business, but one gentlemen in particular, he was pleased to answer in the following romantic strain. "What is life without love, without that tender union of hearts, which is accompanied with thrilling transports never to be described? And must this amiable creature, whose extreme sensibility is so delightfully depicted in every glance of her sentimental eyes,—in every feature of her lovely countenance,—replete at once with beauty, benevolence, wisdom, and truth, be denied any favour in my power to bestow? No, Sir, I am determined not to interfere, therefore your further animadversions shall be considered as an insult." It is well for mankind that Picton has not a wider field to sport in; if he had, he would shine like *Tarquinius Superbus*, who did not attain the latter appellation, until the imperious spirit, for which he was so justly branded, and the disposition to enrich himself, became evident by his plundering excesses; his walk to tyranny was, however, slow, and by degrees, but in the end he ruined his country. An ordinary genius might have gone the lengths Picton has done by slow gradations, but his superior spirit scorns to arrive at the goal of tyranny by progressive steps; he vaulted the moment he assumed the command, into the seat of the stern oppressor and cruel tyrant. He and his friends, I am aware, will attribute to me a considerable portion of presumption for collecting materials, in order to exhibit to you, and (I trust in the end) to the world, a view of the crimes of so great a personage, as he himself supposes he is. I have only to observe, it is a privilege

which every British subject has an undoubted right to exercise as well as myself, had leisure and inclination prompted them. In the progress of the business, I hope I shall have observed both candour and decency. I found my authority on the testimony of many respectable witnesses, who voluntarily step forward to assist in the performance of this my sacred duty to my country, and mankind at large. Whoever doubts the purity of my efforts, I shall not hesitate to consider an enemy to his majesty, from whose feeling bosom oppression of any kind does not emanate. Ministers are, e're now, in possession of a catalogue of his crimes; and no doubt, they are making arrangements to have him taken home to be tried. The first criminal trial will be for executing a serjeant of the Royal Artillery without any previous trial, civil or military. The circumstance has been frequently related to me as follows:—Some men belonging to the Royal Corps of Artillery committed some trifling depredation in the house of an unprotected woman, who it seems, impeached them with having taken away a couple of handkerchiefs. The whole corps were exposed to her view, but she was not able to point out a single individual of the party she alledged had been at her house. She pretended to recognize one of her handkerchiefs about the neck of this serjeant, who was brought before Picton. He thus accosted him:—"*Did you see the sun rise this morning?*" "Yes," said the serjeant. "*Then you shall not see it set.*" Though the woman did not assert that the poor serjeant was one of the number who had been in her house, yet he was hanged the same day in the presence of Picton. The unfortunate man persisted he was innocent till the last moment. This and the two succeeding instances, will clearly prove that he spared no man in his rage. A Spanish peasant, and an

inhabitant of *St. Joseph d'Orena*, was disorderly one day from being disguised in liquor;—the commandant of the quarter or district sent him to Picton, probably with a view to receive a gentle flagellation. Without any further accusation or trial, he was hanged next morning, notwithstanding one of his panders remonstrated against his proceedings. In the south part of the island, resided a French gentleman planter of respectability, well known to have supported an unblemished reputation and discreet sentiments during the late revolution. It so happened that he had his enemies,—one of them maliciously insinuated to Picton (and likely enough enforced the argument by feeing his *bonaroba*), that this gentlemen was in the habit of harbouring the crews of some French privateers. Accordingly, an armed launch was dispatched to bring the gentleman to head-quarters. The commander of the launch, it is said, before he went on shore dressed himself in the uniform of a republican officer, thinking thereby he might meet with a flattering reception;—to his astonishment, he met with an opposition contrary to his anticipation, in as much as being shot at several times, but on making himself known, he was received with the greatest cordiality. The commander then related the purport of his visit; and the French gentleman, who well knew his own innocence, accompanied him back without hesitation. When he appeared at head-quarters, Picton ordered him to the Bastille, and next morning about day-light, he was marched down to the gallows, on which he was instantly hanged, also, without trial. It was but a very few days after, that his innocence was proved beyond a single doubt——Alas! it was too late. These executions, together with many more (I learn in all thirty-six) were perpetrated before the trial of Governor Wall, whose fate did not meliorate his oppres-

sive and malignant spirit. He has been contaminated so long by his late ministerial friends, and had also an idea that the island would be ceded to *Spain* at the conclusion of the war, which supported his predilection in the commission of crimes, and left no stone unturned to gain as many Spanish friends as possible: he even went so far as to send a confidential friend to *Madrid*, to intercede for him in case of recession, that he might be continued governor;—other urgent reasons were added privately to insure him success. We are informed he was accordingly successful. It was not long after a promise so flattering to his ambitious but cruel vanity, that he was constantly heard exclaiming against the British constitution and English laws, adding, that "*those who had framed them were fools.*" No one but a knave, a tyrant, or a madman, would be guilty of uttering such language; it is, however, Sir, the language of Thomas Picton, governor of *Trinidad*, who has been too long supported in swaying the cruel sceptre of despotism over a considerable portion of his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects. If government knew of these repeated acts of cruelty, they are extremely culpable for continuing him in the government of this unfortunate colony. Had he been removed when the first complaint of his conduct reached them, his subsequent acts of cruelty would not now be the subject of my investigation; it is, therefore, your business to inquire into this affair, and let the censure be properly applied. As I have nothing to do with that part of the business, I shall proceed:—Picton issued orders to the commandants of the different quarters to send all runaway slaves to the Bastille of head-quarters. What became of these poor wretches afterwards, is best known to Rosette and her co-adjutor Vallot. It is said, more than three thousand were taken up during the period of

six years, allowing five hundred to have died. What became of the rest—two thousand five hundred?—Were they restored to their legal owners?—Why, Sir, they were sent to the Spanish main, and there sold. This is founded on the evidence of a Spaniard, the master or mate of a Spanish launce, who was hanged or burnt as soon as it was found that he had divulged the secrets of this important and lucrative branch of traffic. Rosette managed the business with great dexterity, and confided very much in the fidelity of this man, consequently was as confounded as if she had been thunderstruck, when she heard that the peculation was no longer an arcana. In this, as in other cases, there was no form of trial observed. Picton, like the famous Justice *Twistum* of *Coventry*, hears (as I have already insinuated) only one side of the question, and is ready to condemn even before he hears any part of the trial. Strange he should be so disposed, but he has contracted such a habit of so doing, it is not very likely he will depart from it while he remains in power. I hope for the benefit of my fellow-subjects the period is not far distant when he will be obliged to exclaim:—

"Fate o'er my head suspends disgrace and death."

Rosette imagined that the destruction of the poor Spaniard would obliterate any further knowledge, and restrain inquiry:—the case was otherwise. Two or three independent gentlemen, who were not terrified, though the gallows, which had been constantly occupied lately by both whites and blacks, stared them in the face every day, were stimulated to inquire into this clandestine trade, carried on to the injury of the planters; I mean those planters who did not attend her levee, and approve of his mode of governing. These gentlemen quickly found

the truth of what the unhappy Spaniard advanced;—the consequence was that they became the victims of oppression in their turn.

I imagine I have now entered far enough into an elucidation of Picton's conduct. Do not think that I take a pleasure in dwelling so long on the dark side of this great man. I wish to God, for his own sake, he had two sides, that I might turn the corner of horrors. After diligent inquiry, I lament my inability to point out a single trait in his character during the time he has been governor of this island, which a candid writer would deem praiseworthy,—even with his own panders I have been disappointed; however, the inclosed panegyric will, I trust, convince you how eager I have been in my researches in order to transmit you any thing that I imagine will tend to shew you the delectable side of his conduct—if he has any*. I sincerely hope the foregoing elucidation of his governorship will not lead you to apprehend that my pen is either influenced or prejudiced; I am sure you are convinced, nothing would afford me more real satisfaction than to depict a favorable view of him, if it was in my power to embrace a glance so desirable to my feelings. As that is totally beyond my practicability, I shall proceed with an inquiry, which I anticipate will be deemed one day or other interesting to my fellow-subjects in *Great Britain*, and inform them what a portion of their fellow-Britons have endured at this remote distance from the source of justice.——Here let me drop the curtain for a while over scenes that bring reviving anguish to my heart.

Vale.

* Vide Appendix, No. 1.

LETTER XI.

Reflections on the Conduct of Governor Picton and the Inhabitants of Trinidad, *at the close of the War—Their Hopes of a Change in their political Situation—Opposition of the Governor, and an Enquiry into the Causes of it—Detail of the Circumstances respecting an Address to His Majesty on the Event of Peace—Address prepared and signed unanimously at a Public Meeting—A considerable Number of British Inhabitants agree to celebrate the cessation of Hostilities by a public Dinner on the 11th of December,* 1801, *but are prevented by order of the Governor—Messrs. Higham, Shaw, and others, persecuted in consequence of the Address to the King—The former arrested and thrown into Prison—Released without any Charge or Trial—Reflections on that Transaction—Conversation between Governor Picton and Mr. Higham—The Manner in which the Governor intimidated the Inhabitants by boasting of his influence at Home—Hints respecting the Execution of an Artillery-Man—And an Anecdote in which the Governor asserts that His Majesty's Ministers warranted and approved of that Transaction—Reflections on so strange a Declaration—Events in December* 1801 *resumed, and concluded.*

Head-Quarters, PUERTO DE ESPANA, *March* 1803.

DEAR SIR,

THE violence of Governor Picton has been very conspicuous on many occasions, but never displayed itself more forcibly than at the close of the late war. The

inhabitants of the unfortunate colony had long groaned under the oppressions of their military chief, whose agressions were only equalled by the patience and moderation which supported them. While *Trinidad*, during the war, remained yet unconfirmed to the mother-country, the colonists doubted much of the efficacy of complaint, and calmly looked forward to the return of peace, as to the happy period of their sufferings. Alas! they were miserably deceived. The mild spirit of conciliation, which calmed the agitations of Europe, brought no peace to *Trinidad*. The cessation of hostilities between our country and France was, in this island, the declaration of war against every British principle; and the moment which annexed *Trinidad* to the dominions of our sovereign, decided its unworthy representative to prevent its enjoying whatever is valuable in British protection.

The circumstance of a *British* governor struggling to prevent the extension of *British* laws to a *British* colony, is so extraordinary, and so totally repugnant to every principle of freedom, that I think I shall be excused for dwelling a little on the causes which produced it, and the violent consequences which resulted to the inhabitants.

For nearly five years Governor Picton continued in the exercise of almost unlimited power. How he has abused that power, will present to succeeding times an humiliating example of the possible depravity of human nature. Accustomed as he had been to uncontrouled command,—in a country where he found every measure, however atrocious, executed with fatal alacrity,—where flatterers are not wanting to applaud the worst of his actions, and where vain ideas of his own importance and power raised themselves daily on the ruins of every manly and honorable sentiment,—in such a situation, it is not to be wondered at that he so much dreaded the approach of laws,

which had power to circumscribe his hitherto unlimited views. This was of itself sufficient to awaken the vigilance and jealousy of ambition:—but this was not all. In his eagerness to retain his power, he had overstepped the boundaries of truth, and the moment was arrived when detection stared him in the face. He had frequently declared, in his correspondence with his Majesty's ministers, that the inhabitants were perfectly satisfied with the existing laws. A contrary declaration from the inhabitants themselves he contemplated with horror. So universal is the estimation of truth, that she is worshiped in appearance by those who secretly violate her! And he, who had proceeded in the commission of the most daring atrocities with a boldness and dicision worthy of a better cause, now trembled at the possibility of being exposed to the world as the mean author of a falsehood!

An account of this unsuccessful struggle of the inhabitants for British laws reached *America*, and excited in the minds of all reflecting persons a deep regret for the situation of so many free-born colonists, and equal surprise and detestation at the violent opposition of the Governor. On my arrival in *Trinidad*, I commenced an anxious inquiry on the subject of this unprecedented transaction; nor had I much difficulty in it. The sources from whence I drew my information were abundant,—the newspapers were still to be found,—original documents were still in possession of some of the persons concerned, and to these I had at all times access,—all the colony knew of the subject,—and I think myself therefore warranted in asserting that the following particulars will be found to be perfectly correct.

When the signing of the preliminaries of peace was announced in *Trinidad*, the inhabitants, actuated by a spirit of loyalty which diffused itself through all ranks,

prepared a dutiful address to their Sovereign, expressive of their strong attachment to his Majesty's person and government, and praying him to extend, in due time, the blessings of a British constitution to *Trinidad*. The framers of this address were Messrs. Sanderson, Shaw, and Higham; the former a respectable physician, and the two latter engaged in mercantile pursuits,—all of them Englishmen born, warmly attached to the constitution of their native country, and of considerable experience in the colonies. As great pains have been taken to represent this address as the violent production of an intemperate party, calculated to disturb the peace of the colony, and to render the Governor the object of public odium, I am happy in the opportunity of doing justice to the framers of it, by furnishing an exact copy; and I think you will agree with me in pronouncing it as loyal, constitutional, and temperate a petition as ever was framed on a similar occasion.

TO THE

KING's MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

WE the principal freeholders, merchants, and other British inhabitants of the island of *Trinidad*, approach your Majesty's throne with the most dutiful respect and affectionate loyalty, begging leave to present our unfeigned and earnest congratulations on the happy change which has taken place in the political affairs of *Europe*, among whose nations none have been so distinguished as your Majesty's Imperial Kingdom, for that perseverance and success which have dignified your Majesty's councils, and have impressed the world with an appropriate opinion of their wisdom and penetration.

That so long and extensive a war should be closed by such a signal series of unparalleled successes, both by sea and land, and end in a peace so honorable in its terms and so valuable by its addition to your Majesty's dominions, is a consideration which must excite the proudest exultation in every British bosom, but more particularly affects the hearts of your Majesty's most loyal subjects in this Island, who feel, with inexpressible gratitude, the immense obligation which your Majesty has been pleased to confer on them by your gracious solicitude to confirm this most valuable conquest, and add it to the other colonies so happily placed under your Majesty's paternal care and protection.

In thus venturing to address your Majesty, we are emboldened by that gracious condescension and regard which it has been your Majesty's pleasure to extend on every occasion to your dutiful and loving subjects; and we most humbly beg leave to represent, that next to our most anxious prayers, which will be continually offered up to Heaven for the long life and perfect health of the best of kings, and for the continued blessing of peace, we most earnestly hope your Majesty will be graciously pleased, as speedily as in your Majesty's wisdom may seem expedient, to complete the happiness which we already begin to feel under the cession of this island to our mother-country, by extending to your faithful and affectionate subjects in this colony the privileges and protection of the British constitution, as experienced by a free representation in a House of Assembly, and in a Trial by Jury: privileges which we inherit in common with our countrymen under your Majesty's mild and benevolent government in *Great Britain* and its numerous colonies.

We most humbly beg leave to lay at your Majesty's feet our warmest protestations of loyalty and attachment to your Majesty's person and family, while we cherish the recollection of the happy events which confirmed the liberties of Englishmen, by placing your Majesty's illustrious ancestors on the throne.

That the blessing of Almighty God may continue your Majesty's health during a long and glorious life, and prolong the happiness and prosperous influence of your Majesty's family over your Majesty's united kingdoms to the remotest ages, is the devout and fervent prayer of your Majesty's most faithful and affectionate subjects. Signed as follows, viz.

John Sanderson, M.D. Thomas Law Townlend Pasea
Robert Mitchell Alexander Williams Robert Bond

Thomas Higham	William Woolward	John Calvert
William Ball	Phil. Camm	James Bourke
Alexander Dick	Chas. A. Gellineau	Charles Burdett
John Shaw	Robert Baker	John Macauley
William Perry	Hugh Monnaghan	William Hannah
John Proctet	Daniel Park	Martin Finneuare
Thomas Kenny	James Johnston	P. T. Winterflood*
Alexander Hall	Thomas Higham, Jun.	Thomas Skerrett
William Belk	James Hogg	Thomas Warwick
Thomas Emery	William Niblet	William Kewley
John O'Mana	John Caw	Rheub. Flinn
James Shannon	John Wetherred	Thos. G. Tyler
Andrew Thomson	James Rivers	Thomas Wilmot
George Bostock	John Downie	William Tolmie
John Hallinan	William Swinden	E. Paynter
Benjamin Niblett	James Reddoch	David King
James Fisher	William Dayle	Jasper Lyon
Charles Brough	Edmund Devin	David Black
John Edmundson	George Wardell	James Dickson
Seth Wales	William Procter	George Rome
William Lockhead	Thomas Parkinson	Robert Ewing
James Adrien	William Horne	George M'Beath
Thos. R. Robinson	Mich. Mitchell	John Banks
George Dalglish	Peter Murphy	Arch. Wetherson
M. Smith	William Morrison	Geo. A Nicholson
Edward Rivers	Matthew Roche	J. Buckley
Anthony Moore	Roger Harrison	Clem. Johnston
William Dickson	Edward Galley	James Handley
William Redhead	Francis Dawes	William Eccles
John Johnston	A. P. Tracey	William Gray
Mat Gallaghar	James Bruce	Charles Audair
John Hayes	Anthony Wharton	Thomas Booker
William Stephens	William Caulson	John Ellis
William Coxall	Thomas Hargraves	William Caton

* Mr. Winterflood was at that time Comptroller of the Customs, and had the care of providing for four orphan children of his deceased brother. When Governor Picton heard that his name was to the address, he swore he *would ruin him if it was not erased from it.* Mr. Winterflood stated this circumstance to Mr. Higham, adding, that in his ruin the poor innocent orphans would be involved. Much as Mr. Higham wished to forward the address, he felt the force of

The promoters of this loyal document communicated their intentions to some of their friends; and it was resolved that all their measures should be taken in the most public manner, to avoid every imputation of a clandestine nature; and to give to all parties a fair opportunity of coming forward on the occasion, an advertisement appeared in the *Trinidad* newspaper to that effect.

The meeting was held at the Tavern on the appointed day, and a considerable number of British inhabitants assembled on the occasion. William Harrison, Esq. was appointed the chairman. This was a wise measure, and does credit to the judgment and moderation of the parties. Mr. Harrison had been for many years resident in the colony; as a merchant his character and connections were highly respectable; as a member of the community he was much esteemed for an unoffending and friendly disposition which marked his general conduct; and to do away all spirit of party, he was known to be extremely moderate in his opinions, and lived on terms of intimacy with the Governor. The address was voted unanimously, and signed by every person present, the chairman and president excepted, whose signatures were reserved for the conclusion. In the course of the meeting a motion was made, that the address should be forwarded to two respectable merchants in *London*, who should be instructed to present it, in a proper way, to the Sovereign. But this motion was lost by a majority of *one;* and it was afterwards voted to be forwarded by the Governor. Every thing was conducted with the most perfect decorum, and a second advertisement was insert-

Mr. Winterflood's appeal, and his name was erased accordingly. This occurred in the presence of a respectable witness, and Mr. W. thanked Mr. H. with tears in his eyes!!—

ed in the public papers, for the information of all those who were inclined to assist in promoting the intentions of the meeting, stating that the address to his Majesty had been ordered by the chairman to be left at the store of Messrs. Thomas Higham and Co.

Accordingly the inhabitants resorted to Mr. Higham's store to subscribe the address; and in a few days it was signed by those whose names appear in the copy already furnished. On the 10th of that month (December) about fifty of the most respectable British merchants and other inhabitants subscribed to dine together, to celebrate the cessation of hostilities, which in this part of the world took place on that day. Mr. Higham's store was obtained for the purpose of assembling to dinner; preparations were made accordingly, and the gentlemen anticipated much loyalty and conviviality on the occasion. And surely, at the close of a long and successful war, to find *Trinidad* annexed to the British empire, was no common cause of exultation, and might reasonably be expected to produce at least a convivial subscription dinner in honor of so important and auspicious an event; but the restless spirit of Governor Picton defeated their honest expectations. On the 9th, official letters were sent from government-house forbidding the intended dinner. One letter was sent to Wharton, keeper of the tavern, an old man, whom the gentlemen employed to provide the dinner from motives of charity. To this poor man Governor Picton addressed an official order, stating, "*that his Excellency should hold him personally responsible for any seditious meeting, that might be held on his premises on the 10th.*" I declare, while I record this shameful stretch of authority, my blood boils with indignation at the meanness of the wretch, who could so far forget whose representative he was, as to descend to such contemptible

measures for effecting his own infamous and tyrannical purposes: but I will, if possible, be patient, and go on with my narrative. In the evening two gentlemen, Messrs. Dickson and Mitchell, went to the Governor to speak with him on the subject of the dinner, and represented the innocence and loyalty of its object, but the mighty Brigadier General Picton declared, "*that if the inhabitants dared to assemble to dine together on the morrow, he would disperse the party by force!*" And for this purpose the guards were actually doubled. On the morrow, Mr. Higham signified to the gentlemen that the intended dinner could not take place. During that day Messrs. Shaw and Higham received official notices that the Governor had thought proper to supercede them as officers of militia. Messrs. Winterflood and Bostock were superceded from their situations in the Custom-house, because their names appeared subjoined to the address, and no person who had signed it escaped the unmanly abuse of the unworthy delegate of majesty in *Trinidad*. While these transactions occurred, the active promoters of the address trembled for the fate of that loyal document:—regardless of their own safety, they thought of nothing but to secure the object of the late meeting; and a measure was determined upon which promised to defeat the plan of the governor, although it was certain to expose them to the whole weight of his resentment. On the morning of the 11th, Mr. Higham declared to about thirty inhabitants, "that he could not consider the address to be safe while avowedly in his possession. From all that had hitherto occurred, it was evident that the Governor was a determined enemy to the address; and he had too much reason to fear the power of the Governor might force it from his possession; he therefore stated that he would quit his store for half an

hour, and hoped some friend of the address would take it without his knowledge, and deposit it in some place of safety until a more favorable opportunity for carrying the intentions of the inhabitants into execution." This was effectually done, and the event proved the suspicion of Mr. Higham to have been well founded. In the same forenoon the Governor sent to Mr. Higham and demanded the address. Mr. Higham replied he did not know where it was. The Governor repeated his demand, and received a similar answer. Mr. Higham was informed that if the address was not forthcoming in half an hour, the Governor would order his arrest. In half an hour the address was not forthcoming; and the mighty Governor proceeded to put his threat into execution. Three armed alguazills repaired to Mr. Higham's store, where they found him:—the Governor's order was produced, and Mr. Higham was conducted to government-house, On his arrival there, he experienced such a reception as might be expected from an enraged and disappointed despot:—the talents of the tyrant were admirably exerted in specimens of the most abusive eloquence; and at the conclusion, Mr. Higham was publicly conducted through the streets of *Port of Spain* by the alguazills and the jailor, in open day, to the common jail. The friends of Mr. Higham witnessed this violent abuse of power with feelings of indignation, commensurate to the occasion. They were well convinced that Mr. Higham would never be induced to purchase the forbearance of the Governor even by a temporary concession, or the dissembling of his opinions and principles for a moment; and while they reflected with pride on the firmness of their friend, they shuddered at the consequences of the Governor's malignity. At the meeting at Wharton's, two addresses were signed exactly similar;

it was voted one should be given to the Governor to transmit to his Majesty, and the other sent to some merchants of *London*, for the purpose of publishing, and forwarding the objects of the inhabitants by all legal means. When it was known that Mr. Higham was arrested and thrown into close confinement, those who were in possession of these documents, contrived to convey one of them into the gallery of Mr. Harrison's house, with a note, requesting Mr. Harrison to summon the committee appointed to wait on the Governor with the address. Mr. Harrison, however, did not summon the committee, but went immediately to the Governor with the address, whose malignant triumph on the event, may be better imagined than described. To enjoy his success more completely, he sent for Mr. Higham from the prison, and after a repetition of the abuse and unmanly conduct which he had experienced on the preceding day, he was told by the Governor, "that he was at liberty, and might return home!"

To you, Sir, in the bosom of English freedom, it will appear incredible that the representative of our Sovereign should thus *dare* to violate the rights of a British subject, and, by a self-created authority, illegal and infamous, thus wantonly presume on an action which the King of *Great Britain* dares not venture upon. Yet such is the fact. An Englishman was thus dragged from his house, exposed to the fury of a despot, thrown into a common prison, again brought to the despot's tribunal, and without one shadow of charge, without even the mockery of trial, insulted, calumniated, and then informed—that he *was at liberty, and might return home!* I must in this place mention the concluding part of the conversation which took place on that occasion, which I have collected from good authority:—

G. P.—I hope, Sir, your imprisonment has done you some service?

Mr. H.—It has, Sir:—it has taught me more than ever to value my liberty, and more than ever to detest the wanton violator of it.

G. P.—(After abuse which I will not insult my readers by repeating)—Sir, you may go!

Mr. H.—Where, Sir?—To prison, or to my house?

G. P.—Off the island, if you please.

Mr. H. No, Sir; not unless you will *venture* to *banish me*, and yet *that* would only hasten my appearance in a country where, thank Heaven, you will *not* have the power to injure me: besides, Sir, I am not yet prepared to quit *Trinidad*,—I have various matters to arrange;—but, I hesitate not to tell you, that you may rely on finding your oppressive conduct duly reported in a quarter, where you vainly imagine you have influence enough to repel my accusation against you.

It is astonishing to conceive how this Governor has depended on his power at home. On various occasions, when the wrongs of individuals have roused them to declare their determination to complain to government, the invariable answer of this unworthy Chief has been, "Do what you please, Sir,—we shall see who has the most *influence*, you or I!" Sometimes in the height of his passion he exclaimed, "You wretch! I can crush you to atoms,—I'll let you know the executive hand of government is too strong for you!" In fact, he asserted so roundly his influence with government, and his retaining his command so strongly confirmed it, that the inhabitants dreaded his vengeance, and submitted to his oppression, since they feared that to oppose him, would be to oppose the whole weight of the ministry. In one instance he certainly went far indeed in his boast of his

influence at home;—and, much as government may be inclined to support their servants abroad, I question if they will thank him for bringing them into notice on that occasion.

There prevails a report respecting a certain artillery-man, who was hanged in the island in the year 1797, by order of Governor Picton; and rumour has been bold enough to whisper that the Governor omitted the customary formalities of a trial, or, at least, that he reversed the usual order of procedure in such cases, by hanging him *first*, and trying him afterwards. It is very certain you will hear more of this dark affair; however, in 1798 or 1799, some gentlemen were dining together, to entertain a stranger who had that day arrived from a neighbouring colony. After dinner, the stranger observed that considerable interest had been excited in the different islands respecting an artillery-man who was said to have been hanged in *Trinidad* without a trial. The gentlemen began to look round, and finding one person present who held a situation under Picton, you may naturally conclude, there was not much freedom of debate insisted upon, and the subject was changed as abruptly as possible. Still, however, the Spy of Picton was on the alert. In the morning he reported the affair to his *dignified master*, and the whole party were summoned to government-house: when, after a severe reprimand for their audacious behaviour, in daring to descant on the transactions of his government, he ended by proudly declaring that, "*he felt himself very happy as to the execution of the artillery-man, having received the entire approbation of his Majesty's ministers for his conduct on that occasion.*" Here let me reflect for a moment. Can it be possible that Governor Picton was warranted in this declaration? If it be true that ministers *did* sanction the execution of

a man without a trial, in a time of profound tranquillity, (for I believe Picton himself, if pressed, will not assert *there was a trial*). Where is the justice of the country? Where are those rights which Britons have vainly called their own? On whom ought the weight of due punishment to fall most heavily?——On the wretch who dared to defy the laws of God and man, or on *them* who dared to support him in his atrocities, by the strong arm of power? But, if the reverse be true, which for the honor of Messrs. Pitt, Dundas, and others, I sincerely hope is the case, how must all honest minds abhor the tyrant who could wantonly commit so flagrant an act, and then aggravate his crime by a false and wicked libel on his Majesty's government.

I have been imperceptibly led to this digression, which, however, is not altogether foreign to the subject, as it displays the violence and cunning of the character I am attempting to delineate. To return—Mr. Higham repaired to his house, and received from all who had spirit enough to avow their principles, the strongest testimonies of pleasure at his release. Here it was expected the Governor's resentment would have stopped; but he had yet a step farther to proceed, which he fancied would complete his mean triumph, but which eventually served to expose the violence of his character, and rouse the indignation of the inhabitants. In the next Saturday's newspaper (the *Trinidad* Weekly Courant), a paragraph appeared, stating that Messrs. Shaw and Higham, of the First Battalion of Royal Trinidad Militia, had been dismissed by order of his Excellency the Governor for *seditious conduct!* On the appearance of so infamous a paragraph, many of the inhabitants testified their indignation by very strong expressions, which were industriously reported to the Governor. Several respectable merchants

offered to subscribe to prosecute him, and numbers wrote home to their friends strong letters, expressive of their detestation of the tyrant's conduct. These symptoms of indignation alarmed the Governor, and he prevailed on some of his friends to certify in the public papers that they had no concern in any prosecution against him. Was ever Governor reduced to so pitiful a situation as to publish, in his own government, certificates that the inhabitants were not actually employed in prosecuting him? Notwithstanding all these violent measures, Messrs. Shaw and Higham were not in the least intimidated—they boldly informed the Governor's flatterers that they were determined to expose his conduct: and publicly, on all occasions, they declared their firm reliance on the justice of their cause, and the protection of his Majesty's government: they transmitted a statement of their case to the Hon. Thomas Erskine, who gave his opinion jointly with Mr. Stephen, in which, though they do not encourage these *injured gentlemen* (as they denominate Messrs. Shaw and Higham), to expect effectual redress by any action at law, they give it as their opinion, that the conduct of these gentlemen was influenced by loyalty, and a warm attachment to the constitution of their native country; that the conduct of the Governor was an abuse of power; and that an humble petition to the King would tend to prevent similar abuses of power in future cases. Messrs. Shaw and Higham also furnished statements to government; and it is not an improbable conjecture, that the earnest manner, in which they repeated their claims for redress, may have at least awakened the attention of ministers to the situation of affairs in *Trinidad*. The other day they presented, in person, a strong memorial to Gen. Grinfield, exposing Picton's conduct, and daring him to a proof of any transaction of their's to which

seditious conduct could in any way be applied. Gen. Grinfield laid this memorial before Governor Picton; and he, with a cowardice equal to his former violence, shrunk from the investigation, and suffered such strong charges to be preferred against him with impunity. Whatever the event may be,—whether those gentlemen who have thus suffered in the public cause at *Trinidad*, are ever to be redressed or not, time can only determine: but, at all events, they will have the satisfaction of knowing that they acted as became Englishmen, on a trying occasion, and that their conduct has secured them the approbation of every independent and unbiassed man in the colony.

Vale.

LETTER XII.

Picton's aversion to Lawyers and Literary Men—The banishment of Russel Minchin, Esq. a Barrister, the supposed Author of a Placard, *reflecting on Picton's Calumnies—The* Placard *answered by a sanguinary Proclamation—The Author narrowly watched—Reflections on his perilous Situation—A Specimen of General Picton's Billingsgate Elocution, particularly in the Case of Judge Nihel—Mr. Nihel abused, and dismissed from his Office—*John Black *promoted—Picton's congratulatory Address to* Black*—An Introduction to* Black's *Character—The ultimate Cause of Judge Nihel's Suspicion elucidated—The oppressive Case of Mr. J. B. D. Savignor displayed—A Summary of a few of the sports attributed to Picton, &c. &c.*

Head-Quarters, PUERTO DE ESPANA, *March* 1803.

DEAR SIR,

THE ghost of Wall would have given Governor Picton less uneasiness than the appearance of either an English lawyer or an English traveller; he was therefore in constant dread of being visited by them: and as he hated all lawyers, whether English or Spanish, he consequently spared no pains to hunt almost every one of them out of the settlement. The reason he as-

signed for this part of his conduct was, "*that lawyers were like carrion-crows, who flocked round carcases and corruption.*" Soon after *Tobago* was ceded to the French, Russell Minchin, Esq. a barrister, who had been practising at the bar in that island, came here; but as Picton could not endure lawyers, he, without any ceremony, contrived to have him incarcerated, and sent him out of the island; or, in the language of the law, transported Mr. Minchin without the necessary formalities of it.

It would be deemed highly improper if I should hold back circumstances that occurred to facilitate the illegal banishment of Mr. Minchin. Believe me, I have no wish to misrepresent the actions of the Ex-Governor: on the contrary, I shall record them only as I find the impartiality of my witnesses, without paying the least regard to the virulence of those who bear him enmity.

A *placard*, of which the following is a copy, was found one morning, posted against the sentry-box at the King's wharf. Mr. Minchin, (for what cause I know not) was suspected to have been the author, but, whether he was or not, he deserves credit for his boldness in speaking the truth, in the very worst of times.

"*Sanguinary punishments corrupt mankind. The effect of cruel spectacles on the minds of the populace, is the distruction of all tender emotions. It is more calculated to excite disgust than terror:—It creates indifference, rather than dread:—It operates on the lower orders of society as an incentive to practices of torture; and for the purposes of revenge, whenever they have the power of exercising the cruelties they have long been instructed in.*—HUMANITAS."

The forcible degree in which the above placard operated on Picton's nerves, may be ascertained from

the following sanguinary proclamation, issued on that occassion, which is a strong proof of his vindictive disposition, and demonstrates from his own authority his sanguinary character.

"*By His Excellency* THOMAS PICTON, *Esq. Brigadier-General of his Majesty's Forces, Governor and Commander-in-Chief, of the Island of Trinidad, and its Dependencies, &c. &c.*

"The Commanders of Quarters, and Alcades of Barrios, are called upon to pay strict attention to the conduct of certain well-known seditious characters; * who, disappointed in their endeavours to impose upon the good sense of the British Inhabitants, are now employing every incendiary means to infuse a spirit of insubordination amongst the Negroes and People of Colour, by infamously representing the wholesome severity of the law, † exercised against fatal and pernicious crimes, which threatened the very existence of the Colony, as the emanation of a sanguinary, vindictive disposition, unnecessarily prodigal of human blood.

"As no reflecting person can be ignorant of the wicked intentions of these nefarious conspirators, ‡ His Excellency calls not only

* The "*well known seditious characters*" here alluded to, are those British inhabitants who had signed the loyal address inserted in my last letter, from which alone they now obtain this appellation!

† "*The wholesome severity of the laws,*" was a favorite expression of *Robespierre* and others, who had stained the soil of *France* with human gore; it was therefore adopted by the Brigadier in its full extent, if we consider the limits of the field in which he exercised the sports of human sacrifice. But, there is not an instance to be found wherein he may be justified in the exercise of it.

‡ They are stated "*nefarious conspirators,*" because they signed a loyal address, congratulating his Majesty on the peace, and hoping that the colony of *Trinidad* would soon enjoy the blessings of British jurisprudence, and thereby be entitled to justice without "*the wholesome severity of the law!*"

upon the constituted authorities, but upon every respectable individual who knows how to value the safety of his person and property, to use his utmost endeavours to bring them forward; and he pledges himself that no obloquy or calumny shall deter him from doing prompt and substantial justice.

"Given at Government-House, *Port of Spain*, this 5th day of Feb. 1802.

"By his Excellency's command,

"RICHARD COLLINS, Sec. (Signed) PICTON."

I believe Sir, I am the first traveller* who ventured to visit this Island since General Picton began to reign, and though it is not much more than a month since my arrival, I find his jackalls are already industriously enquiring in an underhand manner respecting my pursuits, but, as I have adopted a plan of securing the manuscript of these letters, I am indifferent about his resentment, as long as the first commissioner remains in the Colony. I fear however that will not be long, as he talks of visiting some of the other Islands, and then I shall not be surprised should I meet with molestation from the junior members of the commission. In that case, the only thing which would disturb my mind is, the uneasiness the few friends I have would feel for the perilous situation I may be in, having heard not a little of Picton's fame, and what barbarity I might experience from him. But, having already hazarded my life in the cause of oppressed humanity, should I now suffer for my well meant intentions, surely I could not have sacrificed my life in a nobler pursuit. However, it is some satisfaction that I have done my duty so far in the cause of the oppressed in this island, even though I might ultimataly be compelled to do what it is said has been done by others in the *Bastille*,

* In the United States, and in some of our transatlantic possessions, travellers are now generally denominated "*pests*."

or dungeon of this place; *i. e.* to swallow a draught of melted lead!* But whatever may be my fate, fear shall not paralyze my pursuits for the present. A moralizing pen might write a sermon on this subject, but I hate to treat of death when longevity is in view. There is, however, a sort of affliction which at present so weighs down my spirits, that I cannot find arguments in the whole circle of my philosophy to stem its impelling influence: I mean that which results from public calamities wherein my sentiments become interested in spite of me. Who, Sir, can hear the groans of the oppressed; who can hear their cries, and behold their tears flow, without feeling for them the workings of real compassion? I really cannot be a spectator of the disorders which present themselves in this colony, nor witness the arrogance of the proud oppressors, without feeling a violent aversion against them. A few weeks more, however, will suffice me to finish my observations relative to this wretched colony, and then I shall return to *England*, where the despot's voice and the galling chain will neither shock my eye, nor grieve my ear; nor shall I see those streams of crimsoned gore; nor the blood of the unfortunate African run foaming to the main! My thoughts are now more than ever rivetted on that spot, and I look anxiously for the moment of departure from the land of oppression, infidelity, and slavery, for the land of life, liberty, and love.

Pardon, my dear Sir, these digressions now and then involuntarily intrude themselves on my mind, occasioned by the nature of the subject, I am obliged to dilate, and therefore I shall proceed. Had any man ventured to express a slight disapprobation of Governor Pic-

* This, I am informed, has been practised on some coloured men and negroes after torture had been applied to extort confession!

ton's conduct, or approve of any measure which he disliked, or even be in the habits of intimacy with any person who had in any way offended him, the terms *rascal, thief, villain, rebel, scoundrel, jacobin, democrat, brigand,* &c. were profusely bestowed, and to such a degree, that there is hardly a respectable gentleman in the colony who has escaped these outrageous expressions Mr. Nihel, a member of council, and who held with honor the office of chief judge of the island, was abused with many of these outrageous terms; and to him, by way of refinement, was applied the appellation of "reptile." The mighty offence was, that the venerable judge would not approve of the shocking outrage committed upon Mrs. Griffiths, whose extraordinary sufferings, exposed to the brutality of a negro military force, have been already detailed in one of my former letters; and likewise, because he would not consent to hang a man without trial: for which Mr. Nihel was suspended from his functions; but he was afterwards reinstated by his Majesty. Even those whom he employed, and with whom he associated, he, in some of his private correspondence, complimented with the terms of *pirates, ruined profligates,* and *conspirators.* As this is the Governor's own description of them, I may take it for granted that it is just. After the dismissal of Mr. Nihel from his office, he promoted in his stead John Black, an Irishman, and at the first audience which he had with his Excellency (as he is here called), the following instructions, I am told, were given to him verbally:—"I congratulate you, Sir, on your promotion to this exalted station, in which I expect no disobedience of orders, no hesitation in obeying my commands: your duty must be altogether regulated by my instructions; therefore, I expect you will guide your conduct accordingly, on the pain of my displeasure."

How this said John Black has regulated his conduct with regard to these instructions will, no doubt, appear in my further researches; at present, it may not be improper to give you an anecdote of him, by way of introduction, that it may apprise you what actions he is capable of performing. This man originally ran away from one of the British West India islands, and took shelter in this, with many others, while it was under the dominion of *Spain*, to avoid *duns*. Some time since his daughter was married to a gentleman, whose name does not occur to my recollection, to whom he promised 10,000l. as a marriage portion, and indeed gave bills of exchange to that amount to his son-in-law, drawn on a mercantile house in London. Some who did not admire the character of the judge, said they were drawn on *Messrs. Pump, Handle, and Co. Bankers, Aldgate;* others affirmed that they were drawn on *Charles Stewart, Esq. Banker, Charing Cross.* Be that as it may, the judge called one day on his son-in-law, just as he was about to forward them home for acceptance, and presented a pair of loaded pistols to his breast, then demanding the bills in a tone of voice intent upon bloody deeds, which so petrified the son-in-law with fear, that he returned them to his Honor without hesitation. This, Sir, may serve as a specimen of the characters with whom Picton associates, and out of such rank weeds does he select administrators of justice. Another reason which has been assigned for suspending Mr. Nihel from his office, is said to be the following:—At *Point Iquaque*, lived a poor industrious man, who, I have been told, is a native of *Ireland*, and who followed the occupation of turtle-fishing. It appears that he had heretofore neglected every time he had brought turtle to this port, to present one as an oblation to *Madam Rosette*, the Governor's *duenna*. On

this a complaint was founded, and he was apprehended, brought prisoner to government-house, where he was abused, in the usual way, and likewise threatened to be hanged in the mean time. Mr. Nihel having been called in to pass a sentence for immediate execution, was requested to write one to that effect. He objected, and therefore came in for a copious share of abusive language also, in which the term "*reptile*," already mentioned, was frequently applied. Indeed, it is a matter of some astonishment to me, that his Excellency, who had hitherto spurned at legal forms, and literally trampled on justice, did not hang both the judge and the fisherman; the former for disobedience, and the latter for neglecting the politeness due to the favourite of the greatest man in the colony. I am unable to account for the motives that restrained his vengeance in this particular instance, or how he came to deviate from his usual line of conduct. As it appears at present problematical, I shall leave the solution of it, and proceed to matters of greater moment. Mr. John Baptiste Dechon Savignon, a native of *Grenada*, where, by his parents, he had left him an independent fortune, under the care of an uncle, a Mr. Patience, who hired some of the negroes to a Mr. M'Bunnie, late a planter of this island. Some time after, Governor Picton had a dispute with Mr. Patience, who, it is stated, was oppressed as far as injustice could allow. In addition to that, he took possession of the young man's slaves to the number of fifteen, and obliged Mr. M'Burnie to pay the amount of what was due for hire, a sum exceeding 1000 dollars, alleging that he, the Governor, would be Mr. Savignon's guardian in future. When he took the slaves from Mr. M'Burnie, they were appraised by some of his panders, at two-thirds less than their real value, with a view, that should the minor, who was ab-

sent, order them to be sold, or in case of his death, the Governor would only pay the mere trifle at which they had been valued. He was, however, disappointed, for Mr. Savignon returned in about two or three years after, when the Governor informed him that the slaves, &c. were in his possession; at the same time shewing the appraisement, and offering to take them for what they were valued. This was objected to by Mr. Savignon, because he did not want to part with them, and in return demanded a restitution of the slaves and the effects in the Governor's hands, he being now no longer a minor, and consequently capable of managing his own business without the aid of a guardian. This demand, though perfectly correct, irritated the Governor, who insisted on proof being exhibited not only of Mr. Savignon's title to these slaves, but a certificate of his birth, and also informing him that he must prepare himself to quit the island immediately. These documents were procured, and presented to the Governor, who, finding himself still disappointed, threatened to have him immediately hanged, alleging the documents were a forgery; and he was instantly dragged to the *Bastille!* The Governor now set some of his panders to work, to see whether they could not bring Mr. Savignon to terms to give up his claims, and leave the island, rather than be ignominiously executed. This would not do; Mr. Savignon remained inflexible; but, the Governor, though defeated in this, devised another project. Being indebted 2,000 dollars for the hire of these slaves, in addition to what he received from Mr. M'Burnie, and to avoid with some colour, the payment of these sums, he had the slaves again appraised, which exceeded, as it certainly should, the first one by 125 *per cent.* This overplus the Governor had the modesty to claim as his own: it amounted to more than the

items above-mentioned, and an account was rendered accordingly, assigning this reason, that the slaves had improved in value since he had taken them from Mr. M'Burnie. I am happy to find that Mr. Savignon neither acceded to his clandestine offers, nor was hanged, as he was repeatedly threatened to be, but will soon come boldly forward to accuse him. He has been liberated, but in consequence of what circumstances I am not at present acquainted.

Indeed it would be difficult to find a single instance wherein he has displayed the exercise of justice, mercy, or humanity, while on the contrary, he has exhibited a melancholy picture of human depravity, by burning, torturing, and hanging so many innocent persons. To this he has been instigated by the evil council of a *chere amie*, who is constantly "pushing him on to error." Had this woman the fascinating accomplishments of a *Millwood*, one should be less surprised at his infatuated state of anxiety to please her. She is, however, on the contrary, both ugly and disgusting, possessing brutal ferocity of disposition, which is pourtrayed in her very countenance. With such a mistress can you be surprised at his acts?

In the following list you will find enumerated some of the cruelties which have been alleged against him in the exercise of his government.

1*st.* The execution of *Celestino*, a Spanish peon, from *St. Joseph*, stated in my 10th letter, to have suffered without any form of trial.

2*d.* A French gentleman, a planter, who resided on the south side of the island, stated in the same letter to have suffered without any form of trial.

3*d.* The commander of a British launce, from the island of *Margarita*, said to have been hanged and beheaded without trial, as stated likewise in my 10th letter.

4th. Guaycaray, an Indian of the same island, who sailed in the same launce with the above-mentioned Spaniard, tortured to extort confession from him.

5th. The torturing Louisa Calderon, a Spanish girl under fourteen years of age, to extort confession respecting a robbery supposed to have been commited by *Carlo Gonzalez* against *Peter Ruez*, who, I am told, was frequently employed as a secret agent to the Governor. The torture was employed on this girl two succeeding days, in the presence of Mr. Beggorat, a person who is now much in his confidence, and a member of his motley council, but whom he formerly considered a brigand, and at one time gave orders to burn his plantation, in the event of a commotion. This poor girl was tortured so severely, that she fell down apparently dead, by which it is said she has lost the use of some of her limbs*.

6th. The execution, without trial, of Jean Baptiste Richard, a French mulatto, under pretence of his supposed correspondence with fugitives from *Guadaloupe*, established on the Spanish main.

7th. Seizing and detaining Estevan Dubois, a free Spaniard from the Main, for eighteen months.

8th. The condemnation and punishment of another free Spaniard from *Valentia*, married in *Margarita*,—flogged through the streets, on the mere accusation of some drunken seamen, without trial or the means of defence.

* She is now in this country. Her case will soon come fully before the public, because a bill of indictment has been found by the grand jury of Middlesex against Picton; and a commission has been sent out to *Trinidad*, directed to Messrs. Shaw and Hays, to examine witnesses relative to the case.

9th. The illegal and wanton extension of authority, with an intent to ruin and starve Mrs. Griffiths and her amiable daughters, at the instigation of *Madam Rosette*, the Governor's mistress, detailed in my 10th letter.

10th. Executing Alarcon, a Spanish mariner, who sailed on board a trading schooner belonging to Mr. Cipriani, of this place. He was sent to prison without having his crime specified, and was hanged in a few hours after, without waiting the necessary forms of trial. This poor fellow suffered without knowing either his crime or his accuser.

11th. Executing a number of soldiers belonging to the German corps, without the legal forms in such cases. It was alleged they were deserters, and therefore trial was unnecessary.

12th. Hugh Gallagher, mentioned in my 10th letter, as a serjeant or soldier in the Royal Corps of Artillery, to have been executed without any form of trial, for a crime of which another soldier declared himself, on his death-bed, to have been the perpetrator, and that the unfortunate Gallagher was innocent.

13th. For granting a commission to an Inquisitional Committee, in which torture is directed to be applied, fully stated in my 10th letter.

14th. For the repeated application of torture, mutilation, and death, on more than sixteen free mulattoes, free negroes, and negro slaves, condemned by virtue of the proceeding commission, mostly without proof, and suffering for imaginary crimes.

15th. For cruel severities inflicted on six negro slaves now in prison, detained since last December; although tried, there was no evidence to commit them.

16th. For having ordered two persons of the names of Jouba and Yala, to be mutilated by his own express au-

thority, contrary to the sentence of the judges, which it appears he annulled.

17*th*. For a rape committed on the body of a Spanish mulatto girl.

18*th*. For granting dispensations to relatives in the forbidden degrees of consanguinity, and compelling the curate of *Port* of *Spain* to marry them.

19*th*. For the illegal imprisonment of a number of his Majesty's subjects.

20*th*. For granting leave to a Frenchman to supply the enemies of *Great Britain* with naval and warlike stores. This case is shortly thus. The Governor seized a vessel from the river *Oronoko*, belonging to a Spaniard, and consigned to a Frenchman resident in this town. The net proceeds were directed to be appropriated to liquidate certain debts the owner had, in course of his dealings, contracted with some persons in town, but the Governor applied it to his own convenience. Several subsequent applications have been made by the Spaniard's creditors, notwithstanding they were obliged at last to remain silent, as they had been threatened with banishment. The Governor was more generous to the consignee; he gave him an order, whereby he was allowed to export any quantity of warlike stores, under a certain restriction, which is said to be, that the Frenchman would account for half the profits.

I called, a few days ago, on a gentleman of the name of Redhead, who had been confined eight and twenty days, at the instance of one of Picton's jackals, with a view to ascertain some points relative to his case; and as he politely favored me with an explanation, I am now enabled to lay the whole before you.

Mr. Redhead was walking in one of the streets one day along with a friend. They happened to meet one of

the Governor's spies, who made use of some very abusive language to Mr. Redhead. The latter deservedly crossed the nose of the offender, when the blood of iniquity spouted cataracts round him. They were, in a few hours after, arrested as guilty of high treason, and committed, as usual, to the *Bastille*. In the mean time, a mock trial ensued in the Inquisitorial Court, when Mr. Redhead was condemned, without being heard, to pay a fine of 400 dollars; but his friend was acquitted after some little imprisonment, although he took no part whatever in the dispute. It is true, Mr. Redhead was obnoxious to Picton, and therefore it was a crime to be seen in company with those who, like Mr. Redhead, were disliked: however, in this instance it is well understood that the jackal in question courted this opportunity to quarrel with him, in order to punish him. The wretch went further; he endeavoured to procure a sentence to enable him to cut off Mr. Redhead's ears, under the usual pretence, that the punishment might be inflicted by the Spanish law, but Picton thought it prudent to resist the iniquitous wishes of his favorite*.

Vale.

* This man was a member of the *Illustrious Cabildo*, which I think may not improperly be termed the *Inquisition*. In the year 1797, he signed a declaration, retrospectively arraigning the late Governor, Chacone. Among the items, I find one of them was for having delivered the island to the British, and another, reprobating Spanish laws. But under these laws this fellow has since acted in a judicial capacity, and he has never ceased to violate or mis-state them. He lately came forward under the auspices of his friend, Mr. Joseph Marryat, of New Bridge Street, London, and exhibited an article of accusation against Colonel Fullarton, which I mean to notice in a future letter.

LETTER XIII.

The Case of Hugh Gallagher, executed by order of Governor Picton, in May 1797, re-considered—An Account of Jean Baptiste Richard, a free Mulatto Man, executed without a Trial, by order of Governor Picton, in the year 1797—Fourteen Privates of the 60th Regiment, and of Hompesch Corps, executed in 1797, by order of Governor Picton, without any Form of Trial—Detail of the Case of John Baptiste Alarcon, a Spanish Sailor, executed in the month of April, 1799, by order of Governor Picton, without any Form of Trial, for a crime committed on the High Seas—A Guiacaree Indian, the sailing Captain, or Patron of a Schooner, tortured and shot by order of Governor Picton, without any Form of Trial, in 1800—The Case of Pierre Francois, executed December 1801, by order of Governor Picton, for Sorcery, Divination, Knowledge of the Black Art, poisoning by means of Charms, &c.—Bouqui executed December 1801, by order of Governor Picton, for Sorcery, Divination, Knowledge of the Black Art, poisoning by means of Charms, &c.—La Fortune executed February 1802, by order of Governor Picton, for Sorcery, Divination, Knowledge of the Black Art, poisoning by means of Charms, &c.—Manuel executed February 1802, by order of Governor Picton, for Sorcery, Divination, Knowledge of the Black Art, poisoning by means of Charms, &c.—Thisbe,

a Negress, tortured, and afterwards hanged in February 1802, *by order of Governor Picton, for Sorcery, Divination, Knowledge of the Black Art, holding converse with the Devil, poisoning by means of Charms, &c.—Michael Garden, executed March* 1802, *by order of Governor Picton, for Sorcery, Divination, Knowledge of the Black Art, poisoning by means of Charms, &c.—Aubinot executed April* 1802, *by order of Governor Picton for Sorcery, Divination, Knowledge of the Black Art, poisoning by means of Charms, &c.—Present, a Negress, hanged without Trial, by order of Governor Picton—Circumstances relating to Goliah, a Negro Slave belonging to John Dawson, Esq. who died in consequence of a severe flogging ordered by Governor Picton.—Observations on the above Cases.*

Head-Quarters, PUERTO DE ESPÁNA, *March* 1803.

DEAR SIR,

IN the preceding letter you are furnished with a list of the unhappy objects who had suffered under Picton's tyrannical prætorship; it now becomes necessary that I should state the cases of these injured sufferers, with some more, at full length. Hence describe them in rotation as they occurred.

The first is Hugh Gallagher, of the Royal Artillery, whose case I have already partly described. But in all cases of this nature, it is my duty to be very particular; therefore resume the subject without hesitation.

On or about the 21st of May, 1797, a free negro-woman, named Jenny Boniface, went to the house of John Nihel, Esq. Chief Justice of the Island, and stated

that she had been both ravished and robbed on the road from *St. Joseph*. Mr. Nihel having heard what she had to say, thought her charge so very frivolous, that he did not take any further notice of it than by merely telling her to go to Governor Picton, "*to whom*," as Mr. Nihel says, "*I thought it would afford amusement to hear of a rape in the West Indies; and all the punishment that I thought could possibly be the event, would be to put him in the guard-house.. After dinner on the same day, I walked down towards the wharf, and you may judge of my horror and surprise, when I found the man was just executed!*". Before this victim was sacrificed, he was distinctly heard addressing Governor Picton, who was near the gallows, protesting his innocence, and requesting that he might be tried before he lost his life. Governor Picton replied, by thus insulting him: *Villain! you are going to Hell with lies in your mouth!*" By the orderly-book of the Artillery Corps then in *Trinidad*, it does not appear that this unfortunate victim was either arrested, tried, or executed; and moreover, I am told that he as yet stands unaccounted for in the returns of the corps.

Two days after the execution of Gallagher, a court-martial was held on three other soldiers of the same corps, Patrick Murphy, Patrick Kenny, and Andrew Redman, as being his accomplices in this robbery. They were ordered to receive 1,500 lashes each.

It further appears from the evidence of Jenny Boniface, that Murphy, and not the unfortunate Gallagher, was the man who had ill-used and robbed her.

If it is true, what Governor Picton boasts of, that his Majesty's ministers have sanctioned this atrocious outrage on the life of an innocent man, how can they stand acquitted before God and their country, for approving of

the conduct of a governor and military commander, in thus violating the laws entrusted to his care?

2nd Case,—Is that of Celestino, a Spanish inhabitant, who was hanged (as I have already stated in a former letter), without any trial. This happened in the month of May 1797.

3d Case. Some time about the end of the year 1797, Jean Baptiste Richard, the owner of a launce, in which he traded to the Spanish Main, gave a passage to three persons of colour, who were suspected of holding opinions inimical to the Governor. Richard was arrested at *Point la Brae*, by Mons. St. Pé, the commandant, and sent a prisoner to *Port* of *Spain*, where he was (without the examination of any witnesses), sentenced to be hanged. What aggravates this case, is a circumstance that more strongly marks Picton's savage disposition. Richard's father-in-law, Mr. Moss, a planter, who resided at *Point la Brae*, and who had also been arrested and imprisoned by Governor Picton, under suspicion of being concerned with Richard, but, for want of proof, he was brought to government-house to be discharged, when the savage Governor took him into the *mirador*, and pointed out to him the body of his unfortunate son-in-law suspended on the gallows. After that scene, Mr. Moss was severely threatened and dismissed.

4th Case. Sometime in the year 1797, it appears that fourteen privates of the 60th regiment, and of the Hompesch corps, were executed. No trial whatever, civil or military, took place. I am unable to state what were the crimes for which they suffered; and all that I can learn is, that they were hanged a few hours after they were taken into custody.

To soften and explain his conduct in these barbarous proceedings, it is now urged, that at the time they were

executed, the garrison was in a disorderly state,—and that the Governor was under the necessity of dispensing with the *tedious forms of trial*, as immediate examples were required to suppress the frequent desertions which occurred amongst the soldiers. But this excuse is too ridiculous for belief, because it can be proved beyond the possibility of doubt, that the island was as tranquil as ever it was either before or since. How does it happen that he did not issue orders to the officers commanding the colonial volunteers or militia to hold themselves in readiness? An invariable rule whenever any mutinous or riotous dispositions are manifested by the regular troops.

5th Case. In the month of April 1799, a Spanish sailor, named John Baptiste Alarcon, was hanged without a trial. The circumstances of his case are these:—The launce, called La Cecile, belonging to a Mr. Cipriani, of this place, sailed on a voyage to *Martinique*, under the command of John Peter Orlando, and manned by four Spanish sailors, natives of the Main, among whom was Alarcon. When off the island of *Cariacou*, three of the sailors took advantage of the captain's being asleep, and revolted. Having got possession of the vessel, they took from the captain his arms, and obliged the man at the helm to change his course for the Spanish Main. When the captain awoke, he was much astonished to find the course of the vessel changed. On inquiring the reason, the revolted sailors replied by insulting and threatening to kill him if he made the least resistance, and to throw him overboard. Having completely subdued the captain, they began eating and drinking, until intoxication caused them to fall asleep. The captain, finding that two of them were fast locked in the arms of Morpheus, went forward, and struck them on the head with the tiller till

they were dead, when he threw their bodies overboard. After this he steered his course for the island of *Curiacou*: when he got there, he went to the commandant, before whom he made a deposition to the above effect. Alarcon, the surviving revolter, was put into prison, and the captain pursued his voyage to *Martinique*, where he made a similar deposition.

Returning home, he called for Alarcon, and brought him in chains to *Trinidad*. The captain, and his owner, Mr. Cipriani, went to Governor Picton, to whom they gave copies of the depositions that were made at *Curiacou* and *Martinique*. The captain, and the sailor who had not joined in the mutiny, made each a declaration before Governor Picton, confirming the aforesaid facts. Governor Picton lost no time in having Alarcon brought before him. After interrogating him for a few minutes, he was ordered to be immediately hanged, which order was complied with, and he was put to death without any form of trial or inquiry.

6th Case. Sometime in the year 1800, information was given to Governor Picton, that some soldiers of Hompesch's regiment had deserted, who suspected that they were carried off in a Spanish schooner that sailed that morning. When the schooner returned to *Trinidad*, a guard of soldiers brought on shore the passengers, the sailing captain (or as he is called in Spanish, patron), and all the sailors, who were committed to prison. The patron, and some others, underwent the torture: what confession two of them made is not known, but almost immediately after the patron was shot by order of the Governor, without the least form of trial. It appears in evidence, that although a pardon was offered to him, he persisted in asserting his innocence. It is also an absolute fact, that the owner of the schooner, Buscaruidos,

was on board when she sailed, consequently had command of her, who alone must have been guilty of taking the soldiers, if they really were taken; but it is now the general opinion, that neither the owner nor the captain were likely (from the good reputation they bore, and the circumstances they were in), to commit such an act.

7th Case. Sometime in December 1801, a negro slave belonging to a Mr. Patrice, was carried before a commission (already noticed) illegally formed by Governor Picton, for the purpose of trying persons accused of sorcery, divination, and poisoning by means of charms, &c. This slave, Pierre Francois, was repeatedly examined upon these charges before this tribunal, when, in all instances, he uniformly and solemnly protested his innocence. During the different examinations, which secretly took place in the jail, where these ignorant and infamous commissioners met in one of the rooms, he was confined in the stocks. Without hearing any defence from the prisoner, he was ordered to fall down on his knees, and adjudged to be *burnt alive!*

He was then conducted to the chapel, where he was first heavily ironed, and after that heard prayers.

A little after three o'clock, *p. m.*, poor Pierre was conducted by a file of soldiers to the gallows, where they chained him to a stake, and covered his body with a shirt loaded with brimstone. Faggots being placed round the stake, they were set on fire by the executioner. Another negro, who had just been executed, was ordered to be taken off the gallows, his head cut off, and placed alongside of Pierre, when both the living and the dead were consumed in the flames.

It is stated that the frequent burnings of this sort which took place, together with the smell of the brimstone, obliged many, who lived near the gallows, to leave

their houses. What may be deemed remarkable, is, that though the negroes rushed off with horror from these barbarous scenes, yet it was a matter of astonishment they did not instantly massacre the white population.

8th Case. The negro mentioned in the preceding case, named Bouqui, was suspected of sorcery, divination, knowledge of the black art, poisoning by means of charms, &c., and confined in a solitary dungeon for six months previous to his being tried, before the same illegal commission that tried and condemned Pierre Francois,—a diabolical commission, formed by Governor Thomas Picton, repugnant to every rule of proceeding establised by either English or Spanish law.

After Bouqui had been examined several times, he was conducted to the chapel, where he was baptized by the curate of *Port of Spain,* then heavily fettered, and taken to the gallows by a guard of soldiers. Here sentence of death was read to him by order of Governor Picton, and he was instantly hanged. After fifteen minutes suspension, he was taken down, and his head cut off. The headless trunk was laid on a stake alongside of Pierre Francois, and consumed in the flames.

9th Case. La Fortune, a negro slave, belonging to a Mr. Luzette, was accused (by the same tribunal formed by Governor Thomas Picton), of having attempted to take away his own life; having the knowledge of the black art, sorcery, divination, poisoning by means of charms, &c.; for having occasioned sickness amongst many slaves; and having, himself, dangerous connections with the devil.

The trial of La Fortune lasted six months, during which time he was confined in a small cell, in which he was almost roasted alive, and was so emaciated and weak, as to be carried before the tribunal by two jail negroes.

He was at last condemned to be hanged, decapitated, his head to be exposed on a pole, and his body burnt. The unfortunate victim constantly maintained his innocence till the last moment. Being unable to walk, he was dragged to the usual place of execution, where he suffered according to his sentence, sometime in February 1802.

10*th Case*. Manuel, a negro slave, was accused, tried, and condemned in February 1802, before the same tribunal, for sorcery, divination, knowledge of the black art, poisoning by means of charms, &c. His trial lasted six or seven months, during which time he was confined in a small cell, with his feet fixed in iron stocks. Manuel was put into a cart, and carried, heavily ironed, to *St. Joseph de Oruna*, attended with a strong guard of soldiers. His sentence was read to him under the gallows,—which was, that he should be hanged, his head cut off, and his body burnt. After this, the execution was not for a moment delayed. Being allowed to hang about ten or twelve minutes, he was taken down, decapitated, and his body burnt.

In Manuel's sentence it is recorded, that Yala and Youba, two negro slaves, were condemned to be banished for imposing upon the credulity of the negroes by the false art of divination, and alleged guilty of perjury in their depositions before this diabolical tribunal, but Governor Thomas Picton was dissatisfied with this part of the sentence, not conceiving the punishment sufficiently *severe!* He ordered that Yala and Youba should assist at the execution of Manuel, have their ears cut off, and be afterwards banished.

11*th Case*. A negress slave, named Thisbe, belonging to M. Begorrat, was accused of sorcery, divination, knowledge of the black art, holding frequent converse with the devil, poisoning by means of charms, &c. and con-

lined in a dungeon for five months. Her husband, a negro, named Felix, was under trial at the same time. The savages who formed this diabolical tribunal, not being able to procure proof against Felix in the ordinary way, put his innocent wife to the *torture*, to extort confession from her, of her husband (Felix) being guilty of the alleged crimes of sorcery, divination, holding converse with the devil, &c. The poor creature, in the agony of *excruciating torture*, accused herself, and persisted in her husband's innocence!

After being almost tortured to death, the poor innocent creature was condemned to be hanged, decapitated, her body burnt, and her head stuck upon a pole in the quarter of *Diego Martin*. According to this sentence, she was conducted to the place of execution by a party of soldiers, and her husband (Felix) was ordered by Governor Thomas Picton to attend her,—to assist at her execution,—to have his ears cut off,—and to be banished the colony.

On her way to the place of execution she said,—"*This is but like a drink of water to what I have already suffered!*" And immediately before being hanged, she exclaimed,—"*That she hoped nothing would be done to her husband, Felix, for he was innocent; and that she herself trusted she was going to God!*" The sentence being, as usual, read under the gallows, she was hanged for a short time, then taken down, and her head cut off, her body was burnt on a pile previously prepared, and her head was next day exposed on a pole at *Diego Martin*. She suffered in the month of February 1802. Another negro slave was executed at the same time with Thisbe, by order of Governor Thomas Picton.

12*th Case*. Michael Gardon was accused, tried, and condemned by the said diabolical tribunal, of sorcery,

divination, knowledge of the black art, poisoning by means of charms, &c., and was adjudged to be hanged. The sentence was immediately put into execution in the month of March 1802.

Joseph Faustin, who was supposed to be intimately connected with Gardon, was ordered to assist at the execution, with a rope round his neck,—to have his ears cut off,—to be burnt on the cheek with a red hot iron,—and afterwards banished.

13*th Case.* A negro slave, named Aubinot, belonging to M. la Riviere, was accused by the said infernal tribunal, of having made use of a poisoned whip,—of sorcery, divination, knowledge of the black art, poisoning by means of charms, &c. He was confined in a cell for eight months, with his feet fixed in iron stocks made fast to a post, and frequently tortured and examined during that time. Aubinot was condemned, by this savage tribunal, to be hanged, decapitated, his body to be burnt, and his head exposed on a pole near the burying-ground; which sentence was carried into execution in full, and his ashes scattered to the wind, in the month of March 1802.

Jean Louis, La Rose, and Noel, three negroes, suspected of being guilty of divination, sorcery, and poisoning by means of charms, were adjudged to assist at the execution of Aubinot,—to have their ears cut off,—to be branded on the cheek with a red hot iron,—and afterwards banished.

14*th Case.* A negress, named Present, the property of Mr. Thomas Kenny, was enticed away from him previous to the capture of the island by the British. Some months after the capture, Present was brought in, and lodged in the picquet-guard, about three o'clock in the afternoon. As this was Governor Picton's dinner hour, Mr. Kenney did not think it proper to make any application till next

morning; but Present was hanged at sun-rise, before Mr. Kenny had time to make an application, consequently lost a valuable slave. The only fault or crime this unfortunate girl had committed was, that of running away: she was not accused of any bad quality by her master; on the contrary, she was a confidential servant, and her master never heard of any particular charge or crime having been preferred against her.——*Alas! the murder of a fellow creature seems now to be lawful in this part of his Majesty's dominions!*

15*th Case.* This, Sir, is the last case I intend to notice in this black catalogue: and though it is not of such magnitude as the rest, yet from the aggravated circumstances attending it, may safely be put upon a par with the preceding ones.

On a Sunday in May 1802, John Dawson, Esq. late of *Liverpool,* then residing on his estate in the quarter of *Tacariquo,* gave one of his slaves, named Goliah, a ticket of protection to go to the church of St. Joseph, to hear divine service. On his return home, in the evening, he was met by a number of negro alguazils (constables), who were employed by the commandant of the quarter as a patrole, who took him into custody, and notwithstanding Goliah shewed them his ticket of protection, they persisted in detaining him, and carried him to the house of the commandant at *St. Joseph's.*

Next day Mr. Dawson sent his son, Mr. Robert Dawson, with some of his negroes, to look after Goliah, who found him in the custody of those constables, who were carrying him to head-quarters. Mr. Robert Dawson demanded him of them, but they refused, saying they should get more money if they took him to town. Mr. Robert returned home, and informed his father of these transactions, who immediately took his horse, and

rode over to town after them. On inquiring, he found Goliah in jail. About eight o'clock on Tuesday morning, Mr. Dawson waited on the potent Governor Picton, and begged he might have his slave returned to him; at the same time representing that he had been very improperly arrested, having a ticket of protection to go to church, and returning peaceably and quietly home when he was seized by these constables,—with the intention only of getting money. Mr. Dawson mildly told the Governor that scarcely a week passed, but that some of his slaves were taken in a similar way. Mr. Dawson requested that he might have Goliah, by paying the jail-fees only. The reply Governor Picton returned was, that he knew Mr. Dawson had given too much encouragement to his slaves,—that he would humble them,—that the negro had rebelled with the constables, and had not gone quietly with them,—that he had a cutlass with him,—and that Mr. Dawson should not have him unless he paid two joes*, as well as the jail fees. Mr. Dawson's answer was, that every negro was allowed to carry a cutlass; but, he did not know whether Goliah had one or not; therefore, as he had not offended against the law, and was returning peaceably home, he did not think it was either reasonable or just that he should pay more than the jail fees. Governor Picton persisted he should pay the two joes, or he should not have the negro. Mr. Dawson contended that the demand was not just: independent of that, he did not suppose he could find money for that purpose during his stay in town. Governor Picton,—"*If you don't pay the money, I'll cut him under the gallows.*" Mr. Dawson then took his leave, saying, he hoped the Governor would not be so *cruel*, but would think better

* 2*l.* 4*s.* sterling.

of it; and returned home the same day. Governor Picton, however, put his threat into execution, and had the inoffensive Goliah flogged under the gallows till he was nearly dead. Mr. Dawson's servants being in town on Thursday with a flat, or vessel, which carried articles to and from the plantation, they found the poor fellow in a dreadful situation, lying in the jail-yard: they conveyed him on board, and carried him home. When he was brought to Mr. Dawson, he was dreadfully mangled from his hips up to his shoulders, having been unmercifully flogged with a driver's whip, which cut large lumps of flesh from his body. The poor fellow made one effort to speak,—which was to tell Mr. Dawson that he was flogged under the gallows,—that he was killed, and should die. Notwithstanding Mr. Dawson took all possible care of him, he lingered for a few days and died. Consequently Mr. Dawson lost a valuable and faithful slave; and can have no hesitation in saying, that he died in consequence of the wounds inflicted on him!

It appears that Mr. Sergent, a Frenchman, was president of this illegal commission formed by Governor Picton, for torturing and destroying the negroes. Neither the president, nor the rest of the members who, I now understand, are all of them French, of the Robespierrian school, hold any judicial situation in the colony, being private individuals, equally unacquainted with the forms of Spanish or of English law. There were no assessor, no defender for the accused, and no public escrivano attendant on this diabolical tribunal. Their sentences are verified by the signatures of the president and secretary of the commission, and include the orders of Governor Picton on which the sentences were carried into effect.

The torture of a criminal during the course of his trial, is a cruelty consecrated by custom in many nations.

This instrument of barbarity is called the rack, and is composed of a thick strong plank, having a contrivance at one end to secure the hands, and at the other, a sort of double wooden vice. The vice is formed of three stout uprights, two of which are moveable, but steadied by a block that is fastened on each side. The ancles of the culprit being placed in the machine, a cord is passed round the uprights, and held fast by two men. The chief tormentor then gradually introduces a wedge into the intervals, alternately changing sides. The method of forcing an expansion at the upper part, causes the lower end to draw towards the central upright, which is fixed into the plank, and thereby compresses the ancles of the wretched sufferer, who, provided he be fortified by innocence or resolution, endures the advances of the wedge, until his bones are completely reduced into a jelly.

The memorable events performed by this instrument will long remain an indelible stigma on those who tolerated its use in this island,—an island under the protection of the mild government of *Great Britain*. But, Sir, it is an instrument worthy only of a cannibal, whose savage disposition in this instance has, we are told, been much admired by the "*profligates and pirates*," who are the partners of his infamy. I say, Sir, how will this sanguinary tyrant be able to excuse himself from the charge of the preceding cruelties, inflicted on the unoffending subjects of his Majesty? What name should we bestow on this Governor, whose whole endeavours were employed, and whose whole pleasure consisted in terrifying, ensnaring, tormenting, and destroying mankind? Whose power has been employed, since he has been governor, in assisting the rapacious, deceiving the simple, and oppressing the innocent; and who, without provocation, should

continue from day to day, void of all pity and remorse, thus to torment mankind for diversion. The people of *England* will scarcely think it possible that *negro-hunting* is fashionable in many of the *West India* islands, as well as in this. I shall make the utmost inquiry into the barbarities attending these sports*.

Vale.

* Soon after this letter was written, the author was illegally banished by Brigadier General Picton and Commodore Hood, which of course prevented this useful inquiry; but the reader will see in the Appendix, No. 2, a specimen of the barbarities, wantonly committed on the unfortunate negroes.

LETTER XIV.

Remarks on the Situation of the Inhabitants when the First Commissioner arrived in Trinidad—*His Reception and Address to the public Functionaries—The Address misrepresented in Picton's Gazette—The Intention of it thwarted—A Proclamation to decoy the First Commissioner, and sanction the Acts of the former Governor—The Conduct of the public Secretary in this transaction—The measures of the Party defeated—Brigadier General Picton alarmed—Orders of the First Commissioner respecting Commitments—The Alcaldes remonstrate—Proceedings in the Cabildo respecting a new Jail—The First Commissioner's Visit to the old One, and the Situation in which he found it—The Executioner's Complaint, &c.—A second Visit to the Jail increases Brigadier General Picton's Jealousy—An Explanation—Reflections thereon—Brigadier General Picton's Attempt to deprive Mr. Hargrave, Printer, of his Licence—Proceedings of the 12th of February respecting Madame Duval—Outrageous Conduct of the Brigadier in the House of the First Commissioner—His Apology to Mrs. Fullarton—A Parallel of the Conduct of both Commissioners—Further Proceedings in the Case of Madame Duval, and the public Secretary suspended.*

Head-Quarters, PUERTO DE ESPANA, *March* 1803.

DEAR SIR,

NO body of people ever more ardently prayed to be relieved from their insulted and oppressed state, than did the inhabitants of *Trinidad*. They were

greater objects of commiseration than the Dutch, even though degraded, ruined, enslaved, and cloyed with the redundant fraternizing embraces of the ruling tyrant of *France*. When it was known that commissioners were appointed, and that Colonel Fullarton was the senior one, the inhabitants became almost delirious with, joy at the bare idea of being soon relieved from oppression. Hence they also became strongly prejudiced in his favour long before he arrived, conceiving he would bring with him, what was much wanted in the colony; *i. e.* justice, humanity, protection, and happiness.

Colonel Fullarton at length arrived in the *Gulf* of *Paria*, on the 3d of January last, on board his Majesty's ship Ulysses, commanded by Captain Colombine, and the next day landed. He was received by General Picton with seeming politeness. After being congratulated by all descriptions of civil and military persons, he took the oaths and his seat in council, in the cabildo, and in the municipal tribunal. In his address to these public bodies, he expressed his earnest desire to co-operate with his colleagues, and with all classes of the community; to carry into effect the liberal and enlightened instructions he had received from his Majesty respecting the future prosperity of the colony. Next day Picton's gazette made its appearance, which gave an account of Colonel Fullarton's reception and address; in which he is represented to have, in his own name, as well as in the name of his Majesty's ministers, bestowed the most unqualified praise on the late governor, and his proceedings, during six years *arduous* government.

This gross and infamous mis-statement surprised those independent Englishmen who were present at the time the Colonel addressed the public bodies. They clearly understood the manœuvres of Picton's friends, who, by

this, imagined, that the many who had been insulted, ruined, and persecuted, would be prevented from applying to the first commissioner for redress,—to dupe his Majesty's ministers, and to clear the character of the late governor from the imputations which frequently occurred.

The first commissioner was not so easily duped as they vainly imagined; and though he did not openly contradict this gross mis-statement on the spot, yet it was probably from an unwillingness to give offence to General Picton, that he did not disavow the barefaced falsehood. But the Colonel's silence encouraged General Picton and his friends to further acts of duplicity, which shall be noticed in due order as they occurred. It was soon understood that the newspaper which contained the mis-statement, was to be sent home to Lord Hobart, as a *salvo;* but the Colonel directed Mr. Adderley, who was present at the time the speech alluded to was delivered, to write to Lord Hobart, that the praise in question was false, and calculated to impose on the credulity of those who were not present,—that he insinuated nothing in the name of ministers, nor had he bestowed the least praise on the conduct of a man with whose transactions and character he was totally unacquainted.

The first act General Picton and his party resolved on, was a proclamation, which declared all laws, usages, customs, and employments, as hitherto exercised, should continue in full force. The attorney-general, Archibald Gloster, and Mr. Woodyear, secretary to the commission, urged the Colonel to sanction it, who, willing to conciliate as much as possible the minds of the inhabitants generally, did not object, as it appeared to him that it was the object of the old government to embrace

conciliatory measures likewise. This happened on the 6th January, two days after the Colonel landed. The proclamation was prepared and ordered to be printed. While it was in the printer's hands, the Colonel reflected that it would be improper to promulgate this act precipitately, without the consent of the third commissioner, Commodore Hood, who had not yet arrived. Impressed with this idea, he sent the assistant secretary of the commission to the printer with peremptory orders not to issue the proclamation, but to bring the proof sheet to him as soon as it was ready. The printer promised, but instead of doing what he was ordered, he placarded the proclamation all over the town. In this, no doubt, he obeyed the orders of the other party. The Colonel was much surprised when he heard of this transaction, and instantly ordered the printer before him, when he was reprimanded, and directed to pull them all down again, and bring them to the Colonel, which he did, and explained the reason why he had acted contrary to the instructions he had received from the assistant secretary. The cloven foot now appeared. It seems the General and the members of his pandemonium, were eager to get this instrument placarded, as they imagined it tended to approve and confirm all their former "*sanguinary laws, usages, and customs.*" Mr. Secretary Woodyear, who at this early period, became the decided advocate of the sanguinary party, with a view of sharing the loaves and fishes, ordered the printer to disregard the instructions of the first commissioner, and to publish the proclamation at all events,—adding, that he was the public secretary; therefore, his instructions must be obeyed.

Notwithstanding this extraordinary circumstance, the first commissioner felt so much delicacy towards Gene-

ral Picton, that, although he devoted several hours daily to the reception of, and communication with, all descriptions of the inhabitants and strangers, he studiously avoided to look retrospectively, and invariably refused every complaint which had a tendency to criminate the former governor. Indeed, when such complaints were offered, he manifested the strongest wish to conciliate the minds of the parties.

General Picton was, however, alarmed at the friendly reception all classes of inhabitants met with from the first commissioner. It was novel to be sure, and decidedly opposite to his own practice. With a view to prevent the people from enjoying this constant flow of politeness and good manners, and to learn what was going forward, Gloster, the avowed supporter of "*sanguinary laws, usages, and customs,*" repeatedly pressed his services on the first commissioners, in the capacity of aid-de-camp, or literally speaking, a spy. The first commissioner, unwilling to disappoint the party, accepted of Gloster's services; but, it was not long before Gloster (who evidently wanted to control the conduct of the Colonel), manifested extreme uneasiness at the great number of English, Spanish, French, and South American visitors, who crowded to see the Colonel, with whom he communicated without the intervention of any other individual. Though this dissatisfied the other party, their chief continued to act with politeness. Matters went on in this manner, until Mr. Adderley, the provost-martial whose duty it was to inspect the condition of the jail, discovered the situation of the unhappy prisoners to be shockingly deplorable. Picton, and the infamous tools employed under him, in the administration of justice, had invariably pursued a system alto-

gether repugnant to the Spanish laws, particularly in cases of commitment. The practice, as far as I can learn, was to commit persons to prison without specifying their offence. The jailor held the words, "*Jusqu'a nouvel ordre*;" a sufficient authority to retain the body of the unfortunate for years of lingering *durance vile!* The first commissioner directed Mr. Adderley to rectify this illegality, and to demand in future that a specificature of the offence of the person committed, should be produced, as it had hitherto been customary also to allow the monster Vallot, the keeper of the jail, to punish the unfortunate according to his own discretion. The first commissioner also ordered a daily report of the persons ordered for punishment, having heard with certainty that many innocent objects had been flogged with severity, and therefore it was to check this undue severity, that he had given these benign instructions. When the infamous Alcaldes, Black, and St. Pé, heard that such orders had been given, they waited on the first commissioner, and remonstrated with him on this innovation of their absolute (as they considered it) authority. They insisted, that any individual they thought proper to condemn, ought to receive punishment without any interference whatever from his Majesty's commissioners. It is true, six years of uncontrouled sway of the most unexampled tyranny, had given sanction to their barbarity, but it was not to be supposed that the benevolent wishes of his Majesty were to be frustrated by this remonstrance of the infatuated tools of ill delegated power. The first commissioner was fully resolved to persist in his wise and amiable intentions, and to alleviate the calamities of the oppressed. The subject was not agitated again until the last week in January, when the first commissioner

attended the weekly meeting of the cabildo, and brought forward a measure which would add comfort to the situation of the distressed prisoners. He urged the necessity of adopting a plan for hiring and fitting up a new jail under better regulations. After many observations, and a variety of difficulties suggested by Messrs. Black, Beggorat, and Saint Pé, it was agreed that they should, in the evening, inspect a piece of ground, where Mr. Black thought a new jail should be built at a great expence. In the evening, after inspecting the ground, they went to the old jail:—here, indeed, a scene of wretchedness, disease, famine, and, in fact, the most exquisite misery, opened, as it were, at once to their sight,—such as was never before witnessed by any governor in any part of his Majesty's dominions! It was the indispensable duty of Colonel Fullarton to express, in pointed language, his disapprobation, which he did; and, moreover, persisted in his opinion that the Alcaldes inflicted punishment before the unhappy victims were tried. In his progress through this dungeon of horror, he observed four or five slaves, belonging to Baron Montelambert, stretched on their backs on hard boards, in a noxious cell, without light or air, their feet mortized in fetters, and in a state tantamount to torture,—though proceedings had not gone farther against them than the process verbal. When Colonel Fullarton reprobated the conduct of their infernal tormentors present, one of them (I think Beggorat) attempted to justify himself and his associates, by saying, "*there was no method of extorting the truth from such villains except by means of torture.*" After this, the executioner, William Payne, came forward to the Colonel with a singular complaint. He stated that he had only been paid two joes for flogging, burning, maiming, guil-

-lotening, torturing, cutting ears, &c. agreeable to the following list, which he put into the Colonel's hands, *viz.*

Hanged and burned at *St. Joseph*, and head cut off -	1 Man.
Ears clipt off at ditto - - - - - -	2 ditto.
Ears clipt and stampt - - - - - -	4 ditto.
Flogged under the gallows - - - - -	1 ditto.
Punished at pillory - - - - - -	1 ditto.
Led through the town and pillored - - -	1 ditto.
Ears clipt in market - - - - - -	1 ditto.
Ditto in the jail-yard - - - - - -	1 ditto.
Mulatto man, and one negro man flogged through the town	2 ditto.
Ears clipt off, in the jail-yard, of two black men -	2 ditto.

(Signed) WILLIAM PAYNE.

Colonel Fullarton again visited the dungeon the succeeding evening, with the same party, *i. e.* the infamous alcaldes, and some of the members of that disgraceful body, the cabildo, when he declared decisively, that unless a new jail was agreed for, he would take it upon himself to remove the prisoners on board a hulk, and anchor them in the bay.

It appears these movements alarmed General Picton, for he waited next morning on the Colonel, and complained of his attending the meetings of the cabildo, as he himself had never done it, but on extraordinary occasions. He also found fault with the Colonel's visiting the jail, which, he insinuated, conveyed an impression of its being neglected, and the prisoners treated ill during his government. On the first point the Colonel answered, that as General Picton had long been acquainted with the local circumstances of the island, he might not judge it necessary to attend the cabildo, but it was indispensable for the Colonel, by personal observations, and transactions, to enable him to re-

port on the judicial proceedings of the colony; and that he should continue to attend the cabildo every Monday. With regard to the next point, the Colonel assured the General it was absolutely necessary to have a new jail, and to arrange the condition of the prisoners on a better footing. With all this, the Colonel expressed how much he approved of the measure of stating distinctly, and at once to himself, any circumstance which gave him dissatisfaction.

You will observe from this, how very solicitous General Picton was to restrain Colonel Fullarton from acquiring any knowledge of the local situation of the government, and of keeping him in ignorance of all retrospect:—But these things were not to be managed so easily,—the Colonel was not to be duped into a blind obedience of Governor Picton's Machiavalian system of governing; and he could not, after so many weeks residence in the colony, but observe that General Picton was deficient both in civil as well as military matters, even though his panders constantly trumpeted his fallacious exploits. They made many credulous people believe that no officer was more highly distinguished for bravery, &c.;—however, this is not the case;—it is necessary I should state truth, although they make falsehood serve them better. The only thing I find that merits notice in this way, is the several detached excursions to the neighbouring territory (related by himself) to carry off cattle from the inoffensive inhabitants; the proceeds he has applied to his own emolument: so that, from his own confession, we may safely call him a marauding General.

Nothing has occurred worthy of notice since the arrival of the first commissioner, till Saturday, the 12th of February, except General Picton's attempt to deprive an inoffensive printer, of the name of Hargrave, of his

licence, because he published a single advertisement on the subject of a meeting proposed by the first merchant in *Trinidad*, Mr. Rigby, to consider of a proper application respecting British laws. The first commissioner resisted this act of inhumanity in depriving the poor man of the only means of livelihood; and more especially as the advertisement did not contain any thing that even required censure. This point was given up, but General Picton disgorged his rancour furiously against Mr. Rigby and the other merchants, for presuming to hold such a meeting; and therefore they desisted till matters were more clearly understood.

About nine o'clock on Saturday the 12th February, Mr. Woodyear, the public secretary, called on the first commissioner, who stated his objections to the admission into this colony of any Frenchmen who had been ordered during the war out of this Island, *Grenada*, *Martinique*, or *Guadaloupe*, and that he had invariably resisted all applications to that effect, except in the case of Madame Duval, to whom he gave permission to remain for a week to settle some urgent matters of property, and that she had arrived that morning. The first commissioner, therefore, ordered Mr. Woodyear to inform Brigadier-General Picton of the circumstance.

After Madame Duval had an interview with the first commissioner, she waited on the second, who saluted her with his accustomed abusive torrent of Billingsgate. He ordered her to re-imbark immediately, and to quit the colony, committing her at the same time to the charge of an alguazil, or constable. About three o'clock the alguazil conducted Madame Duval to the first commissioner, in consequence of an order she produced, signed by him, which granted permission to remain on the Island for a week to settle some family affairs. The

first commissioner released her, and sent Mr. Burke, his secretary, to Mr. Woodyear with the order Brigadier-General Picton had given the alguazil, that Mr. Woodyear would see there was something mysterious in the proceedings, either wilfully or otherwise, and desiring him to explain the matter immediately to the Brigadier. What passed between the Brigadier and the Secretary, I have not been able to learn; however, it is of no consequence, as the *worthies* became now closely leagued together, to commence hostilities against the first commissioner, because he would not be led into their vile measures of oppression. About eight o'clock in the evening, while Mrs. Fullarton, Hon. Miss M'Kay, Messrs. Hill, Burk, Vint, Christie, (gentlemen attached to the commissioner), and three Spanish gentlemen, were sitting at tea, the Brigadier entered the drawing-room, and desired to speak to Colonel Fullarton, who received him with his usual politeness, and conducted him to the mirador, which makes a part of the same room in which the company were sitting. On a sudden they were surprised at the Brigadier's lofty expressions, at the same time striking the rails with violence, he complained, in vociferous and menacing language, of the Colonel's conduct in giving Madame Duval permission to stay in the colony for a week; and that he (the Brigadier) acted in consequence of a communication he had with the public Secretary. If he did act so, it is evident that the Brigadier and the Secretary meant thus to declare openly against the Colonel, and to consider him a mere cypher; but these ends were not to be gained with such ease and facility as they fondly imagined; they were totally ignorant of the firm and decided character they had to deal with. It now became obvious that a combination was entered into between the Brigadier, his adherents, and

the hypocritical Secretary, intended either to compel the Colonel to act as they dictated, or to degrade and insult him openly. Immediately after this boisterous display of the Brigadier's talents, the Colonel sent for Mr. Woodyear, who refused to attend that evening, probably, until he consulted the Brigadier. Next morning, however, he attended, when he really appeared in a degrading situation, by confessing, in a written declaration, that he had misrepresented the case of Madame Duval to the Brigadie. On Monday Mrs. Fullarton received the following note from the Brigadier:

"*Brigadier-General Picton hopes Mrs. Fullarton will do him the justice of believing that nothing could be further from his intention than offering her any offence, by the high tone of voice he employed the other evening. When he began the discussion, he entirely ceased to recollect that Mrs. Fullarton and the family were within hearing. He trusts he shall never have the misfortune of incurring a similar suspicion.*

Port of Spain,
14th February, 1803.

In the beginning of civilization; I mean, when men began to emerge from ignorance, barbarity, and superstition, they gradually devised and framed laws (or more properly speaking) rules of politeness and civility, with the sole view of rendering themselves more agreeable to one another, and by that means cement and strengthen the bonds of friendly, social, and neighbourly intercourse in society. Strictly adhering to these rules, nothing characterizes a man so much, or makes him more amiable in the eyes of the world, than a virtuous, polished, refined, and agreeable deportment of manner and beha-

viour, more especially, if he happens to be a man of power and consequence:—and certainly politeness, good actions, together with humanity and benevolence, never fail of gaining one a distinguished reputation among mankind, in spite of the shafts of calumny; for politeness not only gains the heart, but adds infinite lustre to the possessor, whatever rank or denomination he may bear in life.

On the other hand, let a man be ever so powerful, rich, learned, and handsome, without politeness (I mean not the politeness common to fops and puppies), to his superiors, equals, and inferiors, he never will be esteemed, loved, or sought after in society, and with the generality of mankind he will ever be despised; therefore, as this accomplishment is so very requisite to every person, how contemptible, and truly despicable must a man appear in the degraded light Governor Picton did in this instance before these ladies. But politeness is with him an unnecessary incumbrance, and instead of acting so as to gain esteem and affection, he has studied to render himself execrable and obnoxious, by his haughtiness, imperiousness, vain deportment, ill-nature, and malice. Picton takes great delight in being the diabolical instrument of forming, breeding, creating, and cementing disputes, discords, and dissentions among those under his command,—he enjoys, above all things, being instrumental in disturbing the peace and tranquillity of those who do not approve of his cruelties,—he glories in rapine, plunder, and oppression, and piques himself on his tyranny and power over those who have the misfortune of being placed under his influence and power,—he is slanderous and deceitful in a superlative degrse, overbearing, proud, vain, and ambitious,—he has, in all instances, rendered himself disagreeable and disgusting in

the execution of his office; and, for six years past, considered *Trinidad* a forest, and its inhabitants his game,—in short, Picton is a declared foe to virtue, as also to every accomplishment that can render a man truly amiable and desirable to society,—I find him despised, abominated, hated, and detested by every independent man in the colony.

Having thus dissected him, what a difference there is between his character and that of the virtuous and accomplished gentleman who is placed at the head of the Commission! who is, indeed, esteemed, loved, and caressed by all who have the happiness of his friendship and acquaintance. Colonel Fullarton was received, on his arrival, with heartfelt joy and open arms, and continues to be the idol of every honest man, because he endears himself to all ranks and denominations of persons, by his politeness, attention, affability, good-will, and disinterestedness,—he, instead of oppressing, does all in his power to diffuse happiness, and delights in doing good and virtuous actions worthy of the benign Sovereign of *Britain*,—whenever he appears abroad, the hearts of those who had been formerly oppressed, exult with unfeigned joy, and the soft tear of gladness rolls down their glowing cheeks,—they bless their Sovereign for his beneficence in giving them this exalted man to govern the distracted Colony,—he is generous and liberal, kind, affectionate, and friendly, faithful to his engagements, promises, and appointments,—he is also a man of honor and integrity,—and, in short, is possessed of every requisite and engaging qualification that can give a man a virtuous and dignified character.

How different is Colonel Fullarton from the Ex-Governor Picton!—While the latter is detested by all, except his panders, the former is loved, esteemed, caress-

ed, admired, spoken well of by all, and dear to all except the panders of the latter. But what inestimable titles!—What glorious names!—How worthy and deserving must Colonel Fullarton appear to the world!—And how amiable must he really be to merit such a shining character!—How miserable and contemptible General Picton appears, when compared to Colonel Fullarton!—And what a glorious victory virtue obtains here over tyranny and brutality!—How this picture ought to spur and instigate us to act justly and disinterestedly, and, in a word, to study the paths of virtue, politeness, and every other accomplishment and qualification that can give a man self-conscientious satisfaction, and make him universally cherished and respected by his fellow-creatures.

When a man acts the part of Djezzar in all instances in governing a considerable portion of free people, besides creating himself a great number of enemies, how uncomfortable and uneasy he must perpetually appear in his own eyes?—He must be inwardly tormented, for there a monitor is placed that cannot be silenced. In this state, life is not worth enjoying, if torments are constantly gnawing him within, and the finger of scorn is for ever pointing at him when he walks abroad, he lives only to be execrated by himself and others, which seldom or never fails to be the case, when one acts contrary to the statutes of God, as well as those established by man.

Picton is hated by all, and loved by none!—What a terrible and afflicting idea this must be to him, if he is possessed of any feeling or sensibility!—How torturing must his situation be to himself, if he reflects but for a moment on the opinion the world entertains of him!—A man like Picton, possessed of power, with such a character, might maintain himself for a short time, by fraud,

dissimulation, and deceit, in the good graces of such a *man* as *Commodore Hood*, but I affirm, that it is utterly impossible he could long enjoy the confidence of any man of sense, penetration, or reflection; therefore you need not wonder at his abominable conduct towards Colonel Fullarton on this occasion.

On Monday, the 14th of February, a special council was held, when the Brigadier was, if possible, more violently enraged. Colonel Fullarton submitted the state of the prison, and read the list he received from William Payne, the executioner. On his reading these papers, the members earnestly and unanimously urged a reconciliation. Colonel Fullarton assented, rather than expose himself to injurious imputations of an unrelenting character, if he resisted the united importunities of the council, which they stated was urged for the welfare of the colony; and a reconciliation therefore took place. But to shew you the diabolical manœuvres of the party, it is necessary to state, that Mr. Unwin, clerk of the council, destroyed all the papers presented by the Colonel on the subject of this most disgraceful business. Very fortunately for the cause, the papers were signed in duplicate, consequently were preserved from the devouring grasp of the malignant partizans of despotism.

Although the first and second commissioners were thus reconciled, it became a matter of necessity, for the public service, to suspend Mr. Woodyear from executing any functions connected with the office of public secretary to the commission. Accordingly, the first commissioner made a motion to that effect on the 17th, after depicting the cause which led to the necessity of this measure, namely, mis-statement, omission, or neglect of public duty on the part of Mr. Woodyear, on a subject of great delicacy, and materially affecting not only the

character and estimation of the parties concerned, but the welfare and security of the colony at large. This motion clearly expressed these circumstances, as well as that his salary should be continued until the pleasure of his Majesty's ministers should be known. Brigadier-General Picton opposed this motion in very strong terms, and even entered a protest upon the minutes, although Colonel Fullarton stated on the 12th, that the suspension of Mr. Woodyear was the only ground on which he agreed to the reconciliation proposed so strenuously by the council; and now, in answer to the Brigadier's objections, the Colonel said, however much he was inclined to sacrifice personal feelings to public duty, still there were bounds to this also. After the violent outrage offered to himself, in the face of the colony, by the Brigadier, it was impossible for him, consistent with his own character, to agree to a reconciliation, but upon the plea originally brought forward by the Brigadier, namely, that Mr. Woodyear had not made the communication as directed by Colonel Fullarton, on the subject of Madame Duval, and therefore it became necessary, if Brigadier-General Picton's conduct was excusable on the ground of Mr. Woodyear's failure in point of duty, he should be held publicly responsible for the impropriety on the part of the Brigadier, and this alone could be effected by his suspension. This disgraceful miscreant, Woodyear, was, however, suspended, and G. Adderley, Esq. a young gentleman of abilities, urbanity, and inflexible integrity, was appointed; but no formal repetition of the rupture ensued; on the contrary, the Brigadier communicated, through the medium of his zealous friend, Gloster, his readiness to conduct the public business in an amicable manner.

Before I conclude this important relation, it is necessary to add, that from the mode in which the affair of

Madame Duval was conducted on the part of the Brigadier and Mr. Woodyear, Colonel Fullarton deemed it essential for the public service, that a certified statement should be produced of all the criminal proceedings which had taken place since the conquest of the island, specifying, in a list, every individual of whatever country, colour, or condition, who had been imprisoned, banished, fettered, flogged, mutilated, tortured to extort confession, hanged, burnt, or otherwise punished, with the dates of their respective commitments, trials, sentences, periods of their confinement, punishments, and of all those who had died in prison, in order that he might know the individuals who had incurred the Brigadier's displeasure, and the grounds on which they were considered as dangerous to the Settlement. This list was arranged so distinctly, formally, and in such specific terms, that it paralised the minds of the junto, who, with their chief, were in full possession of the military power, and were determined to render Colonel Fullarton's situation at the head of the civil government, at once contemptible and inefficient; and therefore the list thus moved for, was to check the violence with which the Brigadier seemed determined to overcome him.

You must know, Sir, that by his Majesty's instructions, the Colonel was precluded either from returning to *Europe*, or, in the capacity of first commissioner, of making use of those ordinary means (between gentlemen) of repressing the outrage with which he was assailed; therefore his own energies were the only means left to rescue him from circumstances so degrading. The sequel justified the conduct of the Colonel: for this decisive measure alarmed them, and gave a turn to their mistaken views of the man, whom they considered so humble and mild in his temper. Hence they foolishly

imagined, that if the Brigadier let loose the reins of his opposite qualification of violence and outrage, the Colonel would be forced to sanction and continue the sanguinary system of terror and severity, cruelty, and horror, without any regard being paid to the forms of Spanish or of English law. Matters stood in this situation when Lieutenant-General Grinfield, and the third commissioner, Commodore Hood, arrived: but in the interim, I shall take the liberty of closing this letter, which the importance of the subject made its diffuseness unavoidable.

Vale.

LETTER XV.

Scene at the Mole—Lieutenant-General Grinfield and Commodore Hood received with Military Honors—The Awkwardness of the Troops, and the Embarrassment of Brigadier-General Picton—The Commodore prejudiced against the First Commissioner—His Dream, and Conduct unaccountable—Military Aid denied the Civil Power—Colonel Fullarton's Statement to the Commissioners—Brigadier-General Picton's Determination to persist in forcing Colonel Fullarton to concur in sanguinary Measures—The Commodore's Conduct on this Occasion—The Brigadier's Intention to destroy the Criminal Records, but frustrated by Colonel Fullarton, who gains possession of them—Proceedings on this Occasion—Colonel Fullarton embarks on Board the Schooner Start, &c.

Head-Quarters, PUERTO DE ESPANA, *March* 1803.

DEAR SIR,

ON the 22d ultimo, I went to the Mole to see Lieutenant-General Grinfield and Commodore Hood land, where I found the Brigadier surrounded by a possé of his adherents, who, I suspected, were displeased at the Colonel's conduct in going on board to congratulate them on their arrival. In this I was confirmed when they

landed, for the Brigadier thus ironically insulted Sir James Bontein, who attended the Colonel on board:—"*I hope your Excellency has arrived in good health; I beg leave to congratulate you on your landing safely in* Trinidad!" Sir James expressed his surprise at this address; when the Brigadier answered, that he understood Sir James had been appointed a commissioner; and after a display of his habitual abuse, he charged the Colonel with having sinister views in visiting General Grinfield and the Commodore. Sir James asserted positively that not a single word had been used on board respecting any business; but still the outrageous Brigadier defied him, as a gentleman, to uphold his position. To complete this scene, the discarded Secretary stept forward to assure Sir James that he would not apply to him to be reinstated. From the Mole, I followed the Commander-in-Chief and his retinue, &c. to the place where they were received by the Brigadier and the garrison with military honors. But although I was much surprised before at what I heard, I was now particularly so at what I saw. The common ceremony of presenting arms was ill performed, and, instead of going through their ceremonial evolutions with precision, they bore an assimilation to the untutored militia of *Nova Scotia*, which must have convinced Lieutenant-General Grinfield that they had been much neglected. The Brigadier gave a word of command, which the troops obeyed by reversing it; some faced one way, and some another. The General, with an angry countenance, said something, and the Brigadier seemed extremely embarrassed, which was, in all probability, heightened by the loud peals of laughter from the adjacent gallaries, indicating either pity or contempt. The Brigadier, however, soon recovered himself by riding up and down the ranks

abusing the officers. Some days after, I went to see them all reviewed, and being close to General Grinfield, I heard him exclaim:—"*D—n my b——d! these troops are a disgrace to the service,—raw recruits would have done it better!*" Independent of these particulars, the General constantly shewed his displeasure on the parade, by reprobating vociferously their neglected state of discipline.

It is positively asserted that the sanguinary party, when they found they could not corrupt the Colonel's integrity, nor bend his mind to relish human sacrifices, assailed the Commodore, whilst he remained at *Barbadoes*, with such misrepresentations as would at any time lead a puerile mind astray. The grand object they wished to attain, was to separate the first and third commissioners, by interrupting the cordiality that subsisted between them, which would ultimately rescind the commission, and thereby vest the whole power again in the hands of the Brigadier. That the Commodore's mind was strongly tinctured with the poison which had been administered, became visible by the influence it had in regulating his subsequent conduct. Having dreamt that the first commissioner and himself had been sent to *Trinidad* to screen, or to adopt the measures of the former Governor, who acted the bloody Moloch, and delighted in human sacrifice,—an oppressive and arbitrary tyrant, blind to the charms of virtue,—deaf to the complaints of truth,—drank without remorse the tear of the afflicted,—and invariably poisoned the cup of distress to embitter the draught:—it was, therefore, under the influence of this dream that he conceived Colonel Fullarton's conduct improper, who, being in the confidence of Government, ought not to pry into the former turpitude of the Brigadier, or bring forward any charges against him.

The conduct of the Commodore from his first arrival, is altogether unaccountable, though apparently civil, and inclined to keep on intimate habits with Colonel Fullarton's family, yet on all matters of business, he displayed a rudeness that betrayed dissatisfaction, while the Colonel omitted no one mark of cordiality and attention.

Before the Commodore arrived, Colonel Fullarton, anxious to make arrangements for the accommodation of his family, hired the best house that was to be found in the town for that purpose: it is not only commodious, but very pleasantly situated, having a fine view of the *Gulf* of *Paria*, and the shipping. The first day he took possession of it, the Colonel sent Mr. Vint, a young gentleman belonging to the Secretary's office, to inquire if there was any thing the Commodore wanted, in which he or his people could assist. Instead of evincing any satisfaction at the pains bestowed to make his situation as comfortable as possible, he inveighed against his house being hired without consulting him, and declared he would not sanction the proceeding. This circumstance proves that he was either destitute of the common rules of politeness, or was prejudiced against Colonel Fullarton. I suspect the latter, though totally ignorant of the Commodore's qualification*.

Colonel Fullarton, in order to counteract the Brigadier's scheme, was determined not to give him an opportunity of introducing alienation, therefore, resolved to agree to every arrangement, that might be proposed by the Commodore, when at the same

* Before Colonel Fullarton arrived, Brigadier-General Picton provided the very worst house in *Port* of *Spain* for his reception. It was situated in the most unhealthy situation, and had a worse appearance than the Bastille, in which I was afterwards confined.

time at the Secretary's office, that secret meetings were held at the Brigadier's house; where the Commodore went to consult previous to the Colonel's joining the commission.

In this stage of these discordant proceedings, it may not be unnecessary to record two instances that have occurred in denying the civil power the aid of the military, by orders of the Brigadier. The first was on the 17th of last month. Between the hours of ten and eleven o'clock *p. m.* the patrole of alguazils seized a negro-slave in the sentinel-box, on the Mole, sleeping on the knapsack, blanket, and great-coat of a soldier of the 37th regiment. They also stopt at the same place, three men in sailor's jackets, who appeared to be guarding a canoe; but as the patrole was already encumbered with the negro and his baggage, M. Mortez, the deputy alguazil mayor, applied to the guard at the Fort (there was no centinel at the Mole), for assistance, and was refused; therefore the sailors of course were allowed to escape. Mr. Adderley reported this transaction the following day, in a letter addressed to the first commissioner. The next instance is reported by J. R. Smith, Esq. in a letter on or about the 10th Inst, likewise addressed to the first commissioner. Mr. Smith is an *Alcalde de Barrio*, a a justice of the street; and it appears he was refused military aid, by an officer of the 37th regiment then on duty, to arrest some sailors who were attempting to break open a store. The Brigadier was absent at the time, having accompanied General Grinfield to *Chaguaramos*, but, before he went away, he had directed that no military aid should be granted, unless by an order from himself.

On the 12th Inst. Colonel Fullarton took an opportunity of stating to the commissioners, "that he had learned the cabildo had, in the course of the preceding

week, held extraordinary or secret meetings, with a view of bringing forward a remonstrance concerning himself. That he had felt it his duty to attend the weekly meetings of the cabildo every Monday, and whenever it was necessary would continue his attendance. On Monday last he proposed to the meeting a number of queries, the avowed object of which was, to remove impressions industriously circulated, and to ascertain how far the cabildo, and the judicial authorities of the Island, concurred with him in the first principles, on which the security of persons must depend in civilized society.

"He had the satisfaction to find that the members of the cabildo verbally and unanimously answered the queries, which concurred with his own opinion, except on two points, on which they promised an opinion in detail.

"Having received a written document from the cabildo, in which some of the answers are expressed in different terms from what he before understood them, he therefore laid before the commission that paper, with the queries to which it refers."

The Colonel then moved that these papers be entered on the minutes of the council, and transmitted to *England*, with such further information as might occur, to enable his Majesty's ministers to pronounce upon the merits of the case.

The Colonel also produced a copy of a letter he had written to the attorney-general, Gloster, and that gentleman's answer, in order that both should be entered on the minutes of the council, so that the Brigadier might avail himself of the full benefit of Gloster's opinion, taken by his desire, with a view that if the subject shall appear to Lord Hobart in the same light so expressed by Gloster, his Lordship may be pleased to direct the terms in which Colonel Fullarton should apologise to Brigadier

General Picton, for having moved in council for a statement of the judicial proceedings, as well as for a list of persons who had suffered the punishments specified in a paper put into his hands by the executioner.

Colonel Fullarton has been accused of arrogating and usurping to himself powers which belong only to the three commissioners collectively. His having visited the prison with the members of the cabildo, and the proper officers, has been adduced in proof of this accusation, although one of the commissioners was absent on service; the other had been long acquainted with every local circumstance; and the Spanish laws required that the prisons should be visited every week, or at least frequently, by those who execute the duties or government.

Colonel Fullarton has further been accused of interfering with the alcades, or judges and commandants of quarters. 1*st*. Because he signified to the provost-martial, that by the laws of *England*, the regulations of this Island, except in some instances, where it has been held sufficient to send the charge within twenty-four hours, and, as he conceives, by the law of God and Nature, it is required, that when any individual is sent to prison, a specification of the offence should at the same time be transmitted, as the warrant of commitment.* 2*d*. Because he also stated to the provost-martial, that when prisoners were confined in the jail, without any specifica-

* Spanish Act, &c. The jailor must keep a book, in which he must enter the names of the prisoners, of those who ordered them to be taken up, of those who executed the order, the cause, and the day; he must give an account of the same to the judge; nor trust the keys of the prison to Indians or Negroes, under the penalty of corporeal punishment, or of making good the damage, by his person or goods.

RECOPILACION DE LEYS DE INDIAS, Law 6th, Tit. 6th. Book 7th.

tion of an offence, and without any accusation brought forward against them, there was not any law in *England*, nor in this Colony which, in his opinion, could justify their detention, especially in a prison so inadequate and noxious;—that to be confined in it, is a severe punishment for any ordinary delinquency. 3*d*. Because he had merely directed that, whenever any slave or person was committed to prison, the fact should be reported to him as a member of the government, although by the Spanish law in this Island, no individual could be committed to prison at all, except by an order from the persons exercising the powers of government.

It has likewise been imputed to Colonel Fullarton, as he conceives, in very unbecoming terms, in a letter addressed to the commissioners by the commandant of a quarter, Monsieur Noel, that the people of colour are excited to insurrection, because a mulatto, named Durand, who had been sent to prison on the 4th of February, without any specification of a crime, was released on the 8th*. It appears that Mr. Noel, or his assistant, Mr. Colzier, sent a letter dated the 6th, which was received upon the 7th, explaining that Mr. Noel had not sent the specification of a crime along with the prisoner; Colonel Fullarton, however, had not read that letter, which was written unintelligibly, or in a bad hand.

The other commissioners objected yesterday to Colonel Fullarton's suggestion of his writing any letter to the commandant of a quarter, or trenching on the collective

* The order of En, Noel, Commandant of *Carenage*, for imprisoning Durand, a mulatto, without any crime being specified.

Il est ordonné a l'Alguazil Pierre Guard de conduire a la Geole, le Mulattre Durand, pour y rester jusqu'a nouvel ordre.

(Signed) EN. NOEL,

Commandant.

powers of the commissioners. "Although he by no means admits the position, that he is precluded from corresponding with any person, except in his collective capacity as a commissioner, yet he has abstained at present from corresponding with Mr. Noel.

"As far as depends on him, he is also desirous of abstaining from that tone of contest in which the daily business of the commission, and the weekly business of the council, has of late been conducted. It can only tend to degrade the estimation of the commissioners, and to interrupt all the important objects for which the commission was appointed.

"He feels it incumbent upon him to prepare materials for a report, and to view in person different positions on the island. These duties will prevent him from a regular attendance on the daily meetings of the commission, and on the weekly meetings of the council.

"As often as he may thus be absent, the other commissioners will, of course, perform the daily duties of the commission. He trusts, in their exertions, they will be more successful than he could hope to be under existing circumstances.

"At the same time, he will attend to the current proceedings of the board; he will be ready to express his sentiments on every material occasion; and to bring forward every suggestion which he conceives essential to promote the objects of the instructions which he has received from his Majesty's ministers.

"Colonel Fullarton has only to express, that in his opinion, an apology ought to be made by the commissioners to General Grinfield, as commander-in-chief, for having omitted to request that he should see the militia corps under arms. But in the present state of the executive duty in this Island, it hardly seems practicable that three

commissioners could command or manœuvre those corps in the field. At all events, on this subject Colonel Fullarton shall take the liberty, in his individual capacity, of apologizing to General Grinfield for the omission in question."

Lieutenant-General Grinfield sailed on Sunday, the 13th Instant; but during the time he remained, affairs were conducted on a footing of apparent civility, though with obvious distance and restraint on the part of the Brigadier, who never failed to bring forward points of altercation.

On the 17th Instant, Brigadier-General Picton read in council a minute, setting forth his determination to persist in forcing Colonel Fullarton either to concur in supporting the sanguinary system as heretofore exercised, or otherwise to suffer such insolence, calumny, and outrage, as he vainly expected would overwhelm him. This outrageous minute revives the affair of Madame Duval, whom, in his abusive insolence, he denominates an "atrocious character," and "notorious brigand." In this minute he boasts of his own *honorable principles**.

* *A specimen of Picton's honorable principles!*—A Spanish gentleman having sold his plantation to Colonel Picton, after receiving the first instalment, was to be paid the remainder at future specified periods. In confidence of this agreement, concluded in good faith with the Governor, the Spanish gentleman, in his turn, made a purchase of another plantation, which suited him better, from a freeman of colour, and settled to pay him the money when he should receive the price of his former plantation sold to Colonel Picton. When this became due, the Spanish gentleman waited on the Governor to remind him of the transaction, who immediately referred his creditor to another person, with whom Colonel Picton had entered into some partnership relative to the before-mentioned estate. This person, when applied to by the Spanish gentleman as directed, positively refused to advance one farthing, saying, he had already laid

and concludes with complimenting the Commodore's high and decided character. Two affidavits were also submitted along with this minute, the one from Mr. Woodyear, the discarded secretary, *wherein he perjures himself*, and the other from his servant in confirmation.

Colonel Fullarton ordered the clerk of the council to furnish him with a copy of the Brigadier's minute, that he might answer it as it deserved. When the council broke up, he mentioned to Mr. Adderley, and the other gentlemen connected with the commission, that all restraints and objections to receiving information no longer existed. Accordingly, oppressive complaints flowed in from all directions; and two gentlemen, who had been bred to the profession of the law in *England*, were appointed to take information in legal forms, assisted by Mr. Vargas, as assessor, being a Spanish lawyer of experience and knowledge.

out a great deal of money on the plantation, without having received a shilling from his partner, the Governor. In the mean time, the man of colour became so pressing for the price of his plantation which the Spaniard had purchased, that he was under the necessity of again applying to Colonel Picton, and stating, that his creditor would not have patience any longer, and that he had no means of satisfying his demand until he should himself be payed by the Governor. Colonel Picton then asked the name of this man of colour; and when informed, immediately exclaimed, "*I know him well; he is a rascal! if he gives you any further trouble, send him to me, and I will banish him from the colony as a traitor or brigand.*" The result of this transaction is stated to have been, that both the Spanish gentleman and the man of colour died without having received the price of their plantations; and that, after the first instalment, Colonel Picton never paid a shilling for the first estate he acquired in *Trinidad!* So much for honorable principles!

Vide Colonel Fullarton's Answer to Colonel Picton's Pamphlet, p. 44.

On the 24th Instant, Colonel Fullarton (in council) submitted his answer to the Brigadier's outrageous minute of the 17th. He lamented the mode in which the business of the commission and the council had been conducted, and entertained little expectation of any benefit resulting from any exertions on his part; but, at the same time, felt it his duty to represent the serious evils to the Colony, and the disappointment to his Majesty's ministers, which must unavoidably arise from the opposite sentiments of the commissioners, as well as the interruption and counteraction of all the leading objects specified in their instructions. After pointing out the leading evils which circumvented the Colony, the Colonel moved that copies of their proceedings, together with other documents, since the opening of the commission, be transmitted, by the first opportunity, to the Right Hon. Lord Hobart. The Colonel produced also an able statement in vindication of his conduct in the cases of Madame Duval and Mr. Woodyear; likewise took a retrospective view of the Brigadier's administration, and the crimes alleged against him.

"Under these circumstances," said the Colonel," "the character of Brigadier General Picton, and the national character of *England*, require that such imputations, prevalent as they undoubtedly are, should not remain without an opportunity of refutation.

"As soon as General Picton shall have cleared himself of those and similar charges, he will have reason to thank God for the occasion now afforded him, of retrieving his character from imputations, which, if proved, would far surpass the unjust and cruel acts committed by Judge Jeffries and Colonel Kirk, and would stand unexampled in any period of the British annals.

"This exculpation, however, cannot be effected, if the

system so long complained of be continued, of banishing from this Island, without any form of trial, any person under the displeasure of Brigadier-General Picton, or suspected of giving evidence against him.

" Under these impressions, Colonel Fullarton moves, that no person shall be henceforth banished from this Island, without a regular specification of the offence, followed by a judicial trial and condemnation, until the pleasure of his Majesty be known."

The Commodore having heard the heavy charges in which his friend was implicated, declared, that he considered them as a libel on his Majesty's ministers!

After the 24th, the Colonel had no interview whatever with the Brigadier or the Commodore, who are determined to pursue the old system of terror. As no mention was made of taking copies of the criminal records, which were to be sent to *England*, agreeable to the Brigadier's motion of the 17th, but more with a view that they should be lost, rather than reach their destination, the Colonel directed Mr. De Castro, keeper of the Archives, a regidor, and member of the cabildo, to shew him, in the usual form, all the criminal processes, as he had usually done to Brigadier-General Picton, and to every member of council. This was complied with on the part of De Castro; and while they were under the inspection of the Colonel, Mr. Beggorat applied for one, in which he wished to make some alteration. Finding they were in Colonel Fullarton's possession, he stated the circumstance to the Brigadier, who, with the Commodore, formed themselves into an extraordinary meeting in council on the 28th, of which the Colonel had no notice. Mr. De Castro was ordered before them to insult and abuse him, for having given the Colonel access to the Archives. Having deprived him of his office,

he was sent prisoner, under charge of Mr. Judge Black, a member of council. Surely these extraordinary proceedings are not only illegal, but carried nullity on the face of them, and certainly contrary to his Majesty's instructions, which, in this instance, they thought proper to trample upon, like a piece of waste paper.

De Castro's arrest was communicated to the Colonel while he was sitting at table with a large company. Being in full uniform, of course had on a sword. Taking a cane, which he usually carried, he went about six o'clock in the evening, to Mr. Black's house, attended by Messrs. Mackenzie, Hill, and Vint, where he saw Messrs. Black and St. Pé, with Mr. De Castro sitting beside them. Colonel Fullarton inquired of Mr. De Castro if he was under confinement. He answered in the affirmative, and that Mr. Black had taken charge of him. Colonel Fullarton then asked Mr. Black whether as alcalde or counsellor? Black replied, that as Mr. De Castro was a regidor, it was not proper he should be sent to prison, and that he had taken charge of him at the desire of the council.

Colonel Fullarton then stated it was a serious business, involving questions of felony, which, in their consequences, might lead ultimately to the gallows; all persons should therefore be careful how they acted, but more particularly the Judges Black and St. Pé. He also insisted, that if Mr. De Castro had refused the papers, he would have been guilty of a breach of duty: and that in consequence of the arrest and imprisonment of this gentleman, a report had gone abroad among the Spaniards and others, that any person thought capable of giving evidence against Brigadier-General Picton, would be confined and brought to punishment. Mr. De Castro was accordingly released, and Colonel Fullar-

ton, in order to prevent any insults from being offered to him, appointed him a commissioner of population during the absence of Major Williamson, who had sailed for *England* on the 20th with dispatches.

His Majesty's instructions expressly requiring the first commissioner, to survey and report the situation of the Island, he, accordingly, on the 29th, embarked on board the government schooner, Start, accompanied by Messrs. Hill, Vargras, and Vint, in order to proceed on the said survey. Although Colonel Fullarton officially communicated his intentions of proceeding on this survey as far back as the 12th Instant, and repeated again on the 24th, when neither the two commissioners, nor the council expressed their dissent or objections to his intended departure, yet the Commodore declared, that he would either take or sink the schooner, if they ventured to stir without the signatures of the two commissioners on the register.

The junior members of this disgraceful triad not only refuse to sign their names, but resist every effort on the part of the owners and captain; and the amiable person placed at the head of the government, is still spitefully* detained on board, in full view of the whole Colony.

Vale,

* This letter was concluded on the 31st.

LETTER XVI.

Colonel Fullarton's Departure lamented—Mr. Archibald Gloster's Proclamation to the British Inhabitants—The Case of John Dawson, Esq.—His Memorial, and Brigadier-General Picton's Answer—Mr. Dawson's Character vindicated—Colonel Fullarton's Character aspersed by Brigadier-General Picton's Panders—Reflections thereon—The Author taken before a Military Committee, and his Conduct on that Occasion.

Head-Quarters, Puerto de Espana, *April* 7, 1803.

DEAR SIR,

COLONEL Fullarton was allowed to proceed on the 1st Instant, because the two *worthies* found themselves under the necessity of arranging matters with the Captain, who, it seems, entered a protest against them for detaining his vessel; therefore, they thought it prudent to abstain from further hostilities.

I am sorry that the Colonel is gone, for his absence has occasioned a general gloom; and, I confess, my uneasiness is great, for I am now completely within the tyrannic grasp of Santhonax and Polverel*. I am prepared

* In the beginning of the year 1793, Santhonax and Polverel, celebrated desperadoes, were the two commissioners who ruined *St. Do-*

for the worst, and happy to exclaim with the poet on this occasion:—

"Yes, I am proud, I must be proud to see
"Men not afraid of God, afraid of me."

Early on the morning of the 1st Instant, I found the following notice posted in different parts of the town, which was done with a view to quiet the minds of the inhabitants, for the loss they sustained, by the absence of the first commissioner:

"PORT OF SPAIN, *March* 31, 1803.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I HAVE it in command from their Excellencies, Brigadier-General Picton and Commodore Hood, to acquaint the British Merchants of this Island, that the Commissioners have their interest under consideration, as well as the interest of the British inhabitants in general.

"(Signed) ARCHIBALD GLOSTER,
"Attorney-General.

"To the British Merchants,
"and Inhabitants of the Island of *Trinidad*."

As I am not able at present to comprehend the meaning of the above notice, unless Mr. Gloster wishes that we should take it for an April hoax, I shall proceed, and leave the solution of it to your own conjecture.

Few men merited less persecution than John Dawson, Esq. of Liverpool; yet, Sir, he came in for a conside-

mingo. After getting quit of the third, they found themselves supported by a desperate band of auxiliaries, composed of some revolted slaves, and vagabonds of all colours and descriptions. Being absolute masters of the Colony, the lives, liberties, and properties of the white inhabitants lay at their mercy. The dreadful scenes which were at that time passing in the mother-country, enabled these men to prosecute their purposes, and gratify their vindictive and avaricious passions, without notice or control from any superior power.

rable share of oppression, calumny, and abuse. With such acts, they made his situation, while he remained here, as uncomfortable as possible.

A dispute had existed for some years between Mr. Dawson, and a Mr. Barry, of this Island, respecting some property which the former claimed from the latter. Mr. Barry, and a relation of the same name, went from *Spain* to *London* in the early part of the year 1797;—the former kept *incog.* while the latter was dispatched to propose some terms to Mr. Dawson, who, finding that they were not consistent, referred the settlement of the business to his mercantile correspondent in *London*, and his attornies, Messrs. Ward, Dennet, and Greaves. Mr. Barry was still *incog.* but his relative had an interview with Mr. Dawson's correspondent, who was not able to reconcile the parties. Mr. Barry, and his friend, not being able to force their own terms on Mr. Dawson, were about to return to *Spain*, when the former was arrested, which necessarily detained him in *England*. In the meantime, *Trinidad* was captured, and Mr. Dawson having abandoned the action, came here and got possession of the property he claimed. Mr. Barry soon followed; but in what manner he *interested* the Brigadier in his behalf, I have not been able to ascertain correctly, it is enough to say, that Mr. Dawson was ultimately ejected *vi et armis*, immediately after having presented the following memorial:

"*To his Excellency* THOMAS PICTON, *Esq. Governor of the Island of* Trinidad *and its Dependencies, &c. &c.*

"The Memorial of JOHN DAWSON, of the said Island of *Trinidad*,

"*Humbly Sheweth*,

THAT your Memorialist, for many years past, has been involved in a suit at law, opposed to Edward Barry, of the said Island, of your Memorialist in a certain Sugar Plantation,

called and known by the name of *Orange Grove*, and certain buildings in the town of *Port of Spain*, in the said Island of *Trinidad*, all heretofore legally transferred to your Memorialist by the said Edward Barry, and now in the actual possession of your Memorialist.

"That your Memorialist has been informed of, and shewn a decree of his Majesty in Council, ordering that the parties should, without loss of time, be compelled to accede to a decree of the Royal Council of the Indies at *Madrid*, which ordained that your Memorialist should surrender to the said Edward Barry, the possession he now holds of, and in the said recited Sugar Plantation, called *Orange Grove*, and the said buildings in *Port of Spain*, on the terms and under the conditions and stipulations contained in the said recited decree of the Royal Council aforesaid, particularly, as far as relates to the previous security to be given to your Memorialist's satisfaction, by the said Edward Barry.

"That your Memorialist has held himself in constant readiness, with becoming deference, to accede to the said order of his Majesty in Council; and, in so doing, has at all times and with all possible respect, awaited the period when the said orders should be duly and strictly carried into full effect and execution.

"That in consequence of the said order, with the said previous conditions, not having yet been carried into effect and execution, your Memorialist has suffered most severely in his interest, as well in this Colony as in *Europe*, inasmuch as, notwithstanding the various valuable and extensive improvements added by your Memorialist to the said estate and buildings, your Memorialist, at this moment, enjoys no solid advantages from any part of the said property, and, therefore, for the present, actually suffers as deeply in his extensive concerns, both in this country and in *Europe*, as if the estate and buildings were actually in the *unconditional* possession of the said Edward Barry, or as if your Memorialist had not the smallest right, title, or pretence whatever to any part thereof.

"That after having thus waited for the execution of the aforesaid order, and suffering all the inconveniencies above stated, your Memorialist remains in the same state of uncertitude, and continues to derive no further advantages from the aforesaid valuable properties to this day; on the contrary, your Memorialist has been informed from your Excellency, as well as from one of the Judges of the Spanish Tribunal, that *there is* an order or decree at present about to be put

in force, whereby *your Memorialist is to be dispossessed of the properties aforesaid*, and the said properties placed in the hands of trustees appointed for that purpose by your Excellency.

"Your Memorialist humbly presumes to state, that he has not seen any decree or order of his Majesty in Council, authorising such proceedings; and feeling his right of complaining on the subject of the above grievances; knowing also that this cause has already been discussed before his Majesty in Council, and that, therefore, no inferior *power* or tribunal can legally alter or pervert the true intent, spirit, or meaning of such degree, and, convinced that if such a decree has been given, or exists, that the justice of your Excellency will not fail to execute that part of your duty.

"Your Memorialist therefore humbly prays, that your Excellency would be pleased to order that the latest decree of his Majesty in Council, touching the matter in dispute between your Memorialist and said Edward Barry, and authorising your Excellency unreservedly to dispossess your Memorialist of the aforesaid plantation and buildings, and to nominate one or more trustees for conducting and managing the said properties, without the concurrence, sanction, or approbation of your Memorialist be produced, and shewn forthwith to your Memorialist, in order that he may testify his prompt acquiescence with the orders of his Sovereign, by immediate obedience; or in justice to himself, his family, connections, and in support of those indefeasible rights, he knows he possesses as an Englishman, be prepared to resist any order or decree emanating from any inferior tribunal.

"And your Memorialist, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c. &c."

ANSWER.

"The decree has been made, after full communication of the different documents to the parties concerned, and this Tribunal will know how to enforce its execution, however prepared the parties may be to resist.

"(Signed) THOMAS PICTON."

Though no man has a higher claim to an unblemished reputation than Mr. Dawson, yet I find he was here insulted and calumniated by the vile junto, whose interest it is to please their Chief in the performance of every sort of vice: but while their actions are handed down to posterity as a monument of depravity, Mr. Dawson will as long be remembered in *Liverpool* for the noblest and strictest principles of honour, generosity, and the tenderest sentiments of benevolence and compassion.

Since the Colonel's departure, the panders have been very active in calumniating his character. A miscreant of the name of Stephens, is very industrious. The ravings of this drunken blackguard are heard in every grog-shop in town. I hope their Excellencies do not encourage such professors:—if they do, let me tell them, that of all the base and corroding passions that infest the human mind, calumny and detraction, as being the most malignant and detestable, have the first claim to censure. The bosom, enveloped and polluted with the snaky powers of either, can feel no pleasure, know no joy, but what arises from the miseries, distresses, and misfortunes of their fellow-creatures. I trust it does not mortify them when they hear that the Colonel is admired and caressed:—if it does—"Wretched," says Hutchinson, "justly wretched must be that weak mind which admits envy and detraction for its ruling principles! All the benign influence of our blessed Saviour's example is lost upon such unfortunate beings,—every generous propensity is checked by such vile and dangerous leaders."

Yesterday morning I visited a gentleman with whom I have been upon intimate terms ever since I arrived. I had not been above ten minutes in the house, when I was told that one of the volunteers, who was dressed in the uniform of his corps, wanted to speak with me. He

said he was requested by some of the officers of his corps to bring me before them, at Mr. Harrison's house, on the bay. Being conscious of not having acted improperly, I was easily persuaded to attend him. At Mr. Harrison's house I found himself, and Messrs. Fisher and M'Namara, in full uniform, sitting round a table, also a number of spectators, who, it appears, were apprised of my coming. Mr. Harrison, after handing me a chair, asked the reason why I had not joined the volunteer corps, in obedience to a proclamation that had been issued some time or other by the late Governor, which stated, that every person was obliged to enrol himself within ten days after his arrival in the Colony, and to join the said corps, fully accoutred, within three weeks, under the penalty of two hundred dollars.

Answer.—Before I answer that question I wish to be informed what you are, and to what corps you belong?

Mr. Harrison.—We are officers belonging to a volunteer corps.

Answer.—Then if I undersand you right, you do not consider your corps a militia corps?

Mr. Harrison.—No!

Answer.—Will you be good enough to favour me with a perusal of the proclamation you have just now mentioned, as I suppose it was under the authority of that instrument that you ordered a detachment of your corps to bring me here a prisoner before you, and that you sit here as a court by virtue of the same, or such authority?

Mr. Harrison.—We have not got the proclamation.

Answer.—Will you have the goodness to send for it to the proper office, for I have a great curiosity of seeing a proclamation which compels an Englishman to be a volunteer!

Mr. Harrison.—You may see it at the Secretary's office.

Answer.—Yes, but my curiosity will not tempt me to pay the Secretary a dollar for a sight of it, which, I understand is the customary fee. Being now a prisoner at your bar, I hope I shall be allowed to say a few words respecting this extraordinary case,—a case unprecedented in the annals of the British nation. To be silent in a moment so critical, and I may say, so pregnant with mischief, would be cowardice in a free-born Briton, who so highly venerates the privileges which he inherits as his birthright; therefore, the horrors of the inquisition, which I see suspended *in terrorum*, ready to torture, will not intimidate me to commit an act, that would deprive me of the immunities guaranteed by the constitution of *England*. Recollect, Gentlemen, that I am not in *France*, nor in her dominions, hence not under the system of requisition.

You call yourselves volunteers, instructed by a tyrannic mandate, to compel every person, who may arrive in this Colony, to join your corps. This is really a novel construction of the term volunteer.

I do not mean to question that such a proclamation existed under the exclusive reign of the former Governor, but, I am certain it has not been confirmed or sanctioned by the present government*: at all events, it is illegal, because it is contrary to the first article of the coronation oath, which says:—*Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this kingdom of* Great Britain, *and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the statutes in parliament agreed, and the laws, and customs of*

* Vide a virulent proclamation issued by the Brigadier and the Commodore, under the head of the 6th day of my captivity, in the succeeding letter.

the same? Now Gentlemen, if you will point out to me any act of parliament, that will warrant you, or your former Governor, to put in requisition the subject, or subjects of the realm, I shall think it my duty to join your corps. Brigadier-General Picton might have issued this illegal and tyrannic mandate, but I am not obliged to consider it as a law, for surely, in a British colony, I do not forfeit those rights, which are the boast of every Briton; on the contrary, they follow me to the most distant corner of his Majesty's dominions: and should his delegates abridge them, the fate of Wall will, in future, serve as a beacon when they sport with despotic authority.

The situation of this Colony is very different from others: it has no colonial legislature to sanction the acts of its Governor: he is indeed the despot, but, I am not obliged to be his slave. It is true, there are laws, but they are replete with horror to a British mind, and a disgrace to the British government to suffer the Spanish Inquisition to exist so long in the bosom of it.

A British subject is here truly degraded, when he finds that his life, his liberty, and his property depend on the caprice of an individual, who, in his wantonness, may issue a proclamation to compel me to go and clean his boots. The one mandate is equally as illegal and oppressive as the other, and is an assimilation to the jacobinic proceedings of the tyrannic rulers of *France*. They may accord with the feelings of a slave-master, but I cannot be reconciled to them. Independent of all these considerations, I do not mean to remain in the Colony many weeks longer than I can accomplish a survey of some parts of it, at the request of the first commissioner. At present I am only detained until the vessel on board of which I mean to embark, gets

ready. Notwithstanding, I have a presentiment, that as injustice and oppression have been the order of the day before I came among you, I have, in common with the rest of my fellow-subjects, every reason to apprehend a share: this therefore may be a prelude to it. Indeed I am certain of meeting with it, because some expressions which unguardedly escaped both commissioners a few days ago, confirm the idea.

Mr. M'Namara.—Pray, Sir, are you in the pay of Government?

Answer.—That, Sir, has nothing to do with the present question.

Mr. Fisher.—Will you state your reasons for not joining our corps, in writing, to Mr. Grant?

Answer.—I do not think it is necessary,—you have heard my objections, and therefore at liberty to communicate them. Does it not appear to yourselves unreasonable that I should be put to the expence of more than an hundred dollars for clothes and accoutrements, merely to go twice or thrice to the parade, and as I have no inclination to remain in the colony, the clothes and accoutrements will be of no use to me in *England*, where I mean to return next month? But as I am to be compelled to be a soldier, why not furnish me with every thing necessary, as is usually done to all other recruits? No answer was returned to this last observation. Finding that I was no longer a prisoner, I returned to my abode, and committed the foregoing without delay to paper.

The Brigadier asserted, a few days ago, that I was engaged by Colonel Fullarton, to write the history of his (Picton's) former administration, and that I am nothing more or less than a spy, employed by the present ministry. You are well aware this is equally as scandalous as it is

false, for I solemnly declare that I never had the honor of corresponding with the Colonel, nor had been in his company prior to my arrival on this Colony but once, about ten or eleven years ago in *Scotland;* and, I am certain, he is totally ignorant of what I have written respecting the proceedings of the Brigadier. As for my being a spy, the idea originated in the Brigadier's distempered imagination, for it is well known, that I have neither capacity nor inclination to be one; however, he is prepossessed with the idea that a traveller and a spy are synonymous, and of course I must be both.

The Commodore in his turn, has positively affirmed, that I was formerly an editor of a democratic paper in *London,* which was the cause of the mutiny in the fleet; that I once abused his late brother in that paper; and that I was a dangerous person in the Colony. You see, Sir, how credulous the Naval Hero is, and how easily he is persuaded to believe any thing, however false and preposterous. Knowing all these assertions to have no foundation in truth, I shall treat them and their disseminators with equal contempt, and wait my doom, which must now be near at hand.

Vale.

LETTER XVII.

The Author arrested by an Officer of the Inquisition, and brought before Commissioners Picton and Hood—His Examination and Commitment to the Bastille—*Description of the Cell in which he was confined; also of Vallot, the Governor—The Case of a Negress roasting alive—Transactions during the Second Day of his Captivity—Method of flogging Slaves described—The Author indisposed; and suspects having been poisoned—Third Day of his Captivity—Still much indisposed—Solicits Medical Aid—Dragged from his Cell to Commodore Hood's House—His Examination—The Ugly Club—Fourth Day's Captivity—The Imprisonment of of Dr. Tumbrill—Distress of Mrs. T——— on that Occasion—Fifth Day's Captivity—Letter from Secretary Woodyear—Description of the Doctor's Cell, and Reflections thereon—Sixth Day's Captivity—Proclamation respecting the Militia—Comments—Letter to the Author—Seventh and Eight Day's Captivity—He is banished to America.*

FIRST DAY OF MY CAPTIVITY.

BASTILLE, PUERTO DE ESPANA, *April* 11, 1803.

DEAR SIR,

AT length the unpropitious goddess, whose influence mars the vain pursuits of mortals, has now withdrawn her terrors from my view. About two o'clock

oath*. I shall drop the subject, because it is evident, from your proceedings, that my fate has for some time been decreed.

As your Attorney General is here, I wish him to hear me ask your Excellencies a few legal questions:—Does a British subject forfeit his natural rights by being in this Colony? If he does, what Sovereign is he to look up to for protection, when he finds himself oppressed? And can that Sovereign protect him when such rights are forfeited? If so, who vested that authority in such a Sovereign, and from whence can it be legally proved?

Commissioners.—No.

Answer.—Then your proceedings against me are illegal, and repugnant to the natural and constitutional principles of a British subject.

Commissioner Picton.—Silence, Sir! you shall not be heard!

Answer.—Very well gentlemen, I trust it will not be long before I shall be heard fully, at the fountain head of justice.

Commodore Hood.—Hold your tongue, Sir!

Silence at length ensued while a mittimus was making out; on its being finished:

Commissioner Picton.—We commit him for *contempt.*

Question.—Then I consider myself a state prisoner, consequently I claim the privileges attached.

Commissioner Picton (to the Officer of the Inquisition, in Spanish).—Tell Vallot, that he must not suffer any person to speak to the prisoner, nor see him, except his servant.

* Bingley having been committed by the Court of King's Bench for contempt, voluntarily made oath, that he would never answer interrogatories; unless he should be put to the torture!

JUNIUS'S LETTERS.

About half after 3 o'clock, *p. m.* I took up my abode in this gloomy cell, situated in the back part of the Bastille, of the following dimensions, viz.

	FEET.	INCH.
Breadth	9	8
Length	18	9
Height	8	10

The hangings are of the finest work in the world, for they were spun by Arachne from her own bowels. Were it not for this furniture, the whole would be a miserable scene of naked walls, flawed ceilings, rusty locks, &c.—The floor, in all probability, was never washed since it was built. My companions are spiders, almost as large as the crabs in Europe;—and venerable rats, whose very age renders them respectable;—together with plenty of scorpions, centipedes, blindworms, moschetos, &c. so that I am not without company.

Vallot, the governor of the Bastille, is a native of France, and certainly one of the most dismal ill looking monsters of the human species, who, if I may judge from appearances, is a fit instrument to execute the mandates of any tyrant, however cruel. He says he has been advised to go to *America*, before British laws are introduced.

Just above me a black woman is confined, accused, as it is said, of poisoning her master and mistress, together with sixty slaves. This poor creature has not a mouthful of fresh air to respire, oppressed with the excessive heat which strikes through the shangles, covering the roof of the Bastille, so that they are literally roasting her alive, in a naked state. She appears to be between 70 and 80 years of age, and very much emaciated from a long confinement, but they are not able to prove any thing against her. I suppose they did not deem it pru-

dent to try her by Brigadier-general Picton's diabolical commission, during the time Colonel Fullarton remained; now that he is gone, she will be dispatched. There are two negro soldiers guarding me, one is stationed at my door, and the other at the hole intended to admit a little air, so that I am honoured as much as a general in the guard way. As soon as it was known, that I was committed, several gentlemen came to see me, but, as they were not allowed that gratification, they went away dissatisfied, venting no doubt in silence, their disapprobation of the barbarity of their *Excellencies.*

I was extremely thirsty before the servant, who attended me, brought me any thing to drink. Vallot offered some rum and water, which I gladly accepted, but I had not swallowed a table spoon full of it, when it struck me, by its tasting differently, that there was poison in it, I therefore endured my thirst till something better came. My servant brought my dinner, together with pen, ink, and paper, which now enables me to give you a diary of every transaction; but what engaged me to be so minute in my description, is from a generous principle of preserving the memory of the first place of my confinement.

SECOND DAY OF MY CAPTIVITY.

During the course of this day, there were unmercifully flogged, with a whip at least four feet in length, thick towards the middle, tapering towards the point, and cuts three or four inches at every lash;

1 Negro Woman,
2 —— Men,
1 —— Boy, about 5 years old.

tal 4

The unfortunate victims are tied down on their bellies, and fastened with cords, to four stakes, fixed on the ground for that purpose; then the posteriors are exposed, on which they receive the castigation. When the victims made a noise, (which is almost constantly the case,) or struggled to get loose, Vallot, who stood at the head, kicked them without mercy on the face.

All this day I have been much disordered in my bowels, owing, I am confident, to the poison that was given to me yesterday;—I can hardly think this sleeping dose was prescribed by the state physicians. One thing is to be observed, they dread the publicity of my travels, and Vallot might think he was serving the cause by wishing me asleep, before this day of judgment.

THIRD DAY OF MY CAPTIVITY.

The constant pain in my bowels was so great, as to deprive me of sleep, during the whole of last night;—this morning I wrote a note to a medical friend, to whom I described my case, and requested he would be kind enough to call on their Excellencies, to obtain permission to see me, adding, that surely they were not so inhuman as to deny medical aid, in a complaint so alarming and excruciating as the one I was afflicted with. I wrote another, which I directed for Mr. S—, wherein I described my situation: it was dated, "Bastille, Felon Side, third day of my captivity," and intended for their Excellencies, though directed for Mr. S—. Both notes I delivered to the servant, to carry them according to these directions, but they were taken from him, as I knew they would be, the moment he left my cell.

About eleven o'clock, *a. m.* the governor of the Bastille entered to tell me that there was a guard of soldiers waiting to conduct me to the commissioners. I answered that I was not able to walk, and therefore would not stir unless they carried me. Oh, Sir, (said the governor), they will soon force you, and you must find feet. The guard was called in, who dragged me out of my cell, whence they pushed and goaded me with their bayonets the full distance of a mile to the Commodore's house. Here I was detained at the bottom of the stairs, on the outside, without shelter, under the burning rays of a hot meridian sun.

Whilst I was detained in this hellish situation for nearly three hours, three gentlemen, who had just arrived in the Colony, passed up stairs, and waited for some time in the mirador before Commissioner Picton, and the late discarded Secretary, came to speak to them. After some conversation, Woodyear told them in the presence of Commissioner Picton, to take care what company they associated with, particularly those who, in any manner, spoke favorably of Colonel Fullarton; and if they did not avoid such, they might depend on being sent off the Island*. This was, to be sure, a broad hint to me, that I should soon be banished, whereas, I imagined before they were going to hang me, and anxiously gave a look now and then towards the gallows, to see if they were making any preparations for my reception. I would have gladly accepted of any kind of

* The Brigadier carried his resentment in this respect so far as to threaten to crush every stranger who dared to be seen speaking to any of those who thought the Colonel's conduct meritorious. For instance, Mr. Le Thé, a respectable French gentleman from *Martinique*, was threatened with banishment because Mrs. Fullarton happened to be for a lady who lived at his house.

death, rather than endure so much thirst and pain as I then felt. Thanks to the Commodore's steward for having relieved the former at the risk of being flogged!

I was at length admitted before the junior commissioners, to whom I stated my situation, and, as I could not stand much longer, requested the indulgence of a chair, which was granted.

The note I feignedly addressed to Mr. Shaw, was read.

Commissioner Picton.—Did you write this note?

Answer.—Yes, Sir. It was not intended for the gentleman to whom it is addressed, but for your Excellencies, knowing you would read it with more avidity when addressed to some other person than to yourselves; I therefore wrote Mr. Shaw's name on the back of it. It makes no difference as to the address, the contents are a true parallel.

Commissioner Picton.—What is a parallel?

Answer.—I hope you do not take me for a lexicographer?

Commodore Hood.—This is the language of Robespierre, Sir.

Answer.—With due deference to your Excellency's superior knowledge, I should not have known it from the language of any other person. Robespierre was a tyrant, and if I make use of his language, I am sure you copy his example in the way of proscribing and imprisoning.

Commodore Hood.—What is your name, Sir?

Answer.—Your Excellency is no stranger to that, for you seem to know more about me already than I do myself.

Commodore Hood.—Pray, Sir, where was you born?

Answer.—I really cannot exactly say, though I was present at the time. It was somewhere in the island of *Great Britain.*

Commodore Hood.—Where was you baptized?

Answer.—I am sorry I am not able to give you a direct answer; though if I had been baptized, I must have been present at the time the ceremony was performed, yet I do not recollect it.

Commodore Hood.—Did your parents ever tell of the circumstance?

Answer.—They might, but I am certain I never asked them a question half so childish.

Commissioner Picton.—What school was you educated at?

Ans.—Have you perceived that my education has been neglected? You may depend it is sufficient to enable me to do ample justice in exposing your oppressive conduct.

Commodore Hood.—Stand up, Sir!—Do you—Sir—know who you are speaking to—Sir. You must know—Sir—we represent his Majesty—Sir.

Answer.—I do not mean to plead ignorance with respect to that, but I have already informed you I was not able to stand; and with regard to my knowing who you are, I am perhaps better informed than you would ever wish me to be. I am also well aware of your being his Majesty's delegates, and time will convince your fellow-subjects how often you have trampled on his justice, and set his benign instructions at defiance.

Commodore Hood.—We shall send you to *England* to be tried.

Answer.—I am happy to hear it; and I hope both of you will not be long in following me. What crime have you to alledge against me?

Commodore Hood.—For opposing our authority.

Answer.—If you call what I have done, opposing your authority, I am contented. The laws of *England* will exonerate me, but I cannot say so much for both of you;

and the sooner you send me to *England*, the sooner you will be relieved from your arduous duties of delegated authority, and a happy riddance to the oppressed inhabitants of this Colony. In my case you have stretched your authority further than you were warranted, and too far now to retract. *Little* as you understand of the constitution of the country you are serving, that *little* might have convinced you, that you were not vested with so much authority as to compel me to serve as a common soldier, nor to cast me to be poisoned in a loathsome dungeon, because I would not sacrifice my dearest rights, to comply with a mandate, in my case tyrannic and oppressive. Though I am not in *England*, and cannot avail myself of the protection of the constitutional shield, yet I will think, act, and speak as an Englishman; and I affirm positively, I will not be beat or bribed into a blind obedience to your oppressive measures. It is a lamentable circumstance that the legislature of *Great Britain* has, in this remote corner of her dominions, left the lives, liberties, and properties of its subjects so long dependent on the capricious will of one person, or what is still worse, on the wills of his pimps, flatterers, and favourites,—in a word, without the phantom of civil government, or the ghost of departed justice. Your conduct towards me, (however unpleasant it is for you to hear it), resembles the mock liberty of *France*, particularly in the system of requisition, which the sanguinary tyrants of that country pursued with intolerant barbarity. That system you are maintaining in this Island, which has already too long groaned under political evils; I mean the grievous burthens of tyranny and oppression, little less destructive, perhaps, to the inhabitants, than anarchy itself.

Commodore Hood.—Silence, Sir!

Answer.—I know truth is unpleasant, but I hope you

will pardon me, I am not yet base enough to flatter a tyrant for the sake of his smile.

Commissioner Picton to Commissioner Hood.—You see, Sir! how industrious he has been during the short period he has been in the Colony, in raking up the kennel of information. He has constantly associated *"with a well known set,"* who have long endeavoured to sully my character, and to ruin me in the opinion of my sovereign: they must be separated.

Answer.—It is too late, I have got all the information I want. Here I took my snuff box to take a pinch.

Commissioner Hood.—Pray Sir! how long have you been a snuff taker.

Answer.—I really cannot recollect, though I was present at the time I took the first pinch.

Commissioner Hood to Commissioner Picton.—Did you ever hear such insolence?

Answer.—Is there any thing insolent in giving a significant answer to a ridiculous question. Perhaps, you now imagine yourself on board your ship, interrogating your cook, and that you think you have the same authority over me you have over him. Remember I am not so much under your controul, therefore not afraid of receiving a *dozen* as you call it. I have no objections to you asking more questions, the more you ask, the more you expose your understanding; I shall, however, remind you of them, some time or other, through the medium of the press.*

* "Commodore Hood, in his letter to Lord Camden, dated 1st Sept. 1804, sufficiently evinces, that although the right of conferring marks of favour on any individual is indisputable, yet, it is not within the limits of any power in *England*, to invest the commander in question with adherence to the principles of veracity, or to the rules of common grammar, and of common sense. Not content with

Commissioner Hood.—I despise your scribbling.

Answer.—You may think as much at present, I shall not publish them for your alone.

Commissioner Hood.—Commit him! commit him!

Prisoner.—I have already endeavoured to impress on your minds, how much my health is injured, and the necessity there is for my having medical advice.

Commissioners.—Guard take him away, he will have a surgeon sent to him.

Just as I was going out, Mr. Shaw, to whom I addressed the note, appeared, and requested to be heard while I was present, I told him it was not intended for him, but for the Commissioners; had it been addressed to themselves they would not have read it. Mr. Parker, the medical gentleman, whose assistance I required, had been examined before me, and they terrified the poor fellow till he cried. I met Mr. M'Kay coming up stairs, with the box, containing the papers of the Ugly Club, which I must endeavour to describe by and

violating the powers intrusted to him, and the civil authority of the King, whose servant and representative he was, the Commodore wages war on the unoffending parts of speech, and puts to the route, or throws into confusion, nouns, pronouns, verbs, and particles—This Commodore fights so well, and writes so ill, that it is be wished he would henceforth employ Colonel Picton to write his letters, as well as to compose his speeches;—or rather, that he would abstain from writing letters, and from delivering speeches, unless like the cuckoo, he prefers hatching the eggs of a less addled bird. It would be useful for the Commodore to adhere to an advice given by the late Earl of Eglintown, to an old awkward German Baron, who, supposing he was laughed at while dancing, said,—"*Milord, quoique je ne scais pas dancer, je scais battre;*" to which his Lordship's answer was,—"*Battez-vous toujours donc, et ne dansez jamais.*"—To Commodore Hood, the sentence would run thus:—"*Battez-vous toujours donc, et n'écrivez jamais.*"

Vide Col. Fullarton's answer to Col. Picton's pamphlet, page 64.

bye. I returned to my cell in the Bastille, about three o'clock, so exhausted with fatigue and pain, that I was almost ready to expire; but I was time enough to see a couple of unfortunate slaves tied to the stake, and receive a severe castigation.

The Ugly Club was a convivial party, who met every Saturday evening at my lodgings, between the hours of six and nine, to sing a song, and drink a glass of porter. Being secretary of this club, the two Commissioners, in the true Pictonian style, seized all the papers they could find at my lodgings; no doubt they expected to find in them something to criminate me, in order to give some degree of colour to their oppression. Among other manuscripts, they found the minutes of the Ugly Club.—Picton has been always struggling to establish for himself the character of a vigilant governor, suppressor of rebellion, discoverer of plots, &c.; this was, therefore, a glorious opportunity, not to be missed, of displaying his talents:—The Ugly Club was pronounced to be an unlawful assembly; and a deep laid plot against the government. Several of the members were sent for, and examined upon oath, the rules of the club were read, and because they prohibited politics, the *wise* Commissioners sagaciously concluded, that there was sufficient proof of the seditious tendency of the meeting. Almost every question put to the members who were examined, tended to criminate Messrs. Shaw, Higham, and myself, but all agreed so exactly, and spoke with such confidence, and even contempt of this mockery of justice, that they were obliged to give up the business.

It has been ridiculously understood by many people, who did not admire the proceedings of the two Commissioners, after the Colonel left them to govern their own way, that they constituted the Ugly Club; they

certainly deserve the title much better than our convivial party, for their proceedings are as ugly as their crimes; but what a disappointment, that they could not find the manuscript of these letters, which they want more than any thing else, to prevent their rising in judgement against them in another quarter of the world. Here I cannot resist pausing for a moment, to reflect on the prospect which presented itself to every one; such violent changes took place the first day of Col. Fullarton's departure, especially the reinstating of Woodyear, therefore, it was naturally concluded, his presence had alone overawed the authors of them. What had we to expect in the absence of our protector, but a renewal of that system of terror, which has already half ruined this devoted Colony? All we had to hope was from one quarter alone: We flattered ourselves that Commodore Hood would not risk a reputation earned in the honourable service of his country, by sanctioning acts of violence, which he well knew had brought universal odium on Picton's administration. In this every body was deceived, for he who imagined he had been sent out by his Majesty's Ministers, to screen or adopt the measures of Brigadier-General Picton, concurred in every act of oppression and injustice.

Woodyear being once suspended from his office, they, as junior Commissioners had no right whatever to reinstate him; the power was alone vested in the Colonel, as first Commissioner, of appointing persons to official situations, but they imagine the instructions they received from his Majesty are merely nominal, and therefore not worth attending to.

Between four and five o'clock, just as my servant was entering the den, with my dinner, the negro soldiers who guard me, tossed it about, expecting to find a letter

deavouring to imitate the example and calm fortitude of Baron Trenck, who was also the victim of oppression.

Four o'clock, *p. m.* Vallot, the governor of the Bastille, being displeased with a little black boy, who always appeared to me very attentive, and was considered so by the concurrent testimony of the prisoners on whom he waited, was brought up to the stake, and received punishment for a positive or alleged crime. Be either as it may, it is impossible to express how my feelings revolted at seeing the despotic understrapper (Vallot), not contented with inflicting a severe castigation, but with a refinement peculiar to himself, exulting over the bleeding victim, by applying lime juice to the excoriated parts, which more than trebled the torture the poor boy had already experienced.

If there is any such thing existing in the Colony as a civil power, I am certain the despot had no authority but his own, to act as he did, in this instance. About five o'clock I received the following letter, which is a convincing proof they dare not send me to *England*.

"*Trinidad.* Port *of* Spain, Government-House, *April* 15, 1803.

"Sir,

"I am commanded by their Excellencies the Commissioners for executing the office of Governor of the Colony, to inform you that you are to be shipped off to-morrow evening for *New York*, from whence you came*.

"I am, Sir,

"Your humble Servant,

"J. M. Woodyear,

"Secretary of the Commission.

"Addressed on the back,

"Mr. P. M'Callum,

"Prisoner in the Jail of *Port* of *Spain*.

"J. M. Woodyear."

* Had the junior commissioners as much power as they wished,

By this, it appears, I am to be banished without being tried by either the civil or military code of laws; or probably they have no time to try me now; but that they can do after I am banished. The Spanish code of laws must be a very simple one, being apparently adapted to every capacity, for I find the chief magistrate of the district in which I resided before I was shut up here, is a tailor. Mr. Snip may, for aught I know, be a good tailor, but I am convinced he is not burthened with a single grain of the knowledge of jurisprudence. He can sign his name, which is all that is required to be a magistrate. This trading justice is blessed with a pupil of Esculapius for his clerk; so that between the shears and the goose, the lancet and the mortar, we may have equity cut, bled, pulverised, and shaped to suit every palate. It is not the first time I have seen a tailor officiating as a magistrate. The instance I allude to was last summer in *Philadelphia*.

A gentleman, with whom I was taking a walk one day, had occasion to call on a General Barker, a furious democratic tailor and alderman. We found General Snip with his coat off, exhibiting a dirty shirt, and a beard as long as that of a goat. I was soon convinced that he was a thorough jacobin, for he inveighed against the bible and the federalists, till he foamed at the mouth and nose, and concluded in the hopes of having it in his power to guillotine every federalist, and burn every bible in the *United States*.* There is no respectability at-

the order, in all probability, would be thus—"To *New York* from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, &c."

* *The Illustrious Cabildo* presented an extraordinary document, to his Majesty's Commissioners dated the 21st of March, 1803, wherein they urgently impress on the commissioners, that the enormous disproportion which subsists in the Colony between the whites of all

tached to the magistrates in many parts of the *United States*, for I found them in general violent jacobins, without any principle, selected only for their friendship to the present President. Travelling one day last summer, from *New York* to *Perth Amboy*, I alighted from the mail at *Woodbridge*, and requested the landlord to procure me a conveyance to the place of destination, distant about three miles. He soon procured one, and I agreed to give the driver half a dollar, and a glass of grog. It was in the dusk of the evening when we departed, and being but lately arrived from the *West Indies*, I felt chilly, which the driver noticed, and offered to lend his great-coat for eighteen-pence more, which I instantly gave him, and he drove me to *Perth Amboy*—but judge of my surprize, when I found my driver to be no less a personage, than his honour Mr. Manning, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, for the State of *New Jersey*.*

nations, who do not much exceed 2000, and the people of colour, being children of English, Spanish, and French parents, who exceed 5000, as the general census shews, imperiously requires, and proves the necessity that the 2000 whites, should reduce the numbers, prevent the increase, restrain the audaciousness, subjugate, and as far as their opinion goes *extirpate*, no less than the whole of these 5000 peaceable and valuable subjects of his Majesty, under the denomination of *miscreants!* It will probably be recollected, that this *illustrious body*, lately came forward to exculpate their late patron and leader, how far they will succeed, a short time must now disclose.

Vide Col. Fullarton's answer to Col. Picton's pamphlet, page 61.

* The following will no doubt amuse the reader, and convince him of the *respectability* of American Justices!

FROM A LATE CHARLESTOWN COURIER.

"A short time since it was published that Governor M'Kean, of Pennsylvania, on the application to him by the Speaker of the Assembly of that State, to appoint one of his neighbours to the magistracy, replied, that "he already appointed too many ignoramuses."

SIXTH DAY OF MY CAPTIVITY.

It is reported, that the Brigadier sometime ago, received a present of a halter, brace of pistols, and a knife, with a request that he would privately dispatch himself, rather than he should be exalted in a certain place, amidst the derision of the vulgar.

A similar anecdote is retailed of the famous Judge Jeffries. When he was confined in the Tower, he received a present of a keg of *Colchester* oysters. Greeting himself that he had still a friend left, he opened the keg, and to his great surprise and mortification, found a haltar on the top of the oysters: but he did not make use of it.—The Brigadier lays over for consideration;—he may be staggered between the opinion of the sophists, who have turned weak objections into a thousand shapes, and the example of the great and divine Cato, who shared with the gods the admiration of an astonished world, whose sacred and august presence animated the Romans with

The extract below, from the *Philadelphia Freeman's Journal*, will, doubtless, convince our readers, that the Governor's reply was a correct one, if many of the *Pennsylvania* Justices may be ranked with the *gentleman* who signs himself N. Marshall.

FROM A PHILADELPHIA PAPER.

The following curious advertisement is copied from the Sprig of Liberty, printed in *Gettysburg*, (Penn.)

"LOOK HERE ONCE!

"Some say I was scared out of my commission—some say I was whipped out of it—some say I resigned—others say I am already broke!—but I say, I know what I know—and will act on as a *Justice of the Peace*, until my *friendly* complainants make it appear to the countrary sufficient to prevent me of doing so.

"N. MARSHALL."

holy zeal, and made tyrants tremble. Little did his proud admirers imagine, that petty rhetoricians, immured in the dusty corner of a college, would ever attempt to prove that he was coward, for having preferred death to a shameful existence!

Suicide was never considered by the Romans an act of cowardice; on the contrary they deemed it an act of bravery. According to them, it was dastardly to withdraw from pain and trouble. I believe there is no law against it in the bible, not even a bare disapprobation of it. The Brigadier, when he finds himself deprived of all hope, *may say to his darling Rosette*,—"May the friendship which unites us preserve our union to the latest hour. O what a pleasure for sincere friends voluntarily to end their days in each other's arms, to intermingle our breath, and at the same instant, to give up the soul which we shared in common! What pain, what regret can affect our last moments? What do we quit, by taking leave of the world?—We go together, we quit nothing!"

Soon after Commodore Hood arrived, the Pictonian Gazette blazed forth several times, with a bombastical account of the few exploits he performed last war, in which they monopolized all the merit to himself alone, for they did not make it appear, that he received any aid from either his own crew or officers;—so that they considered him as great a man as the celebrated *Capt. Lemuel Gulliver*, who conquered and dragged fifty sail of the Blefuscuan fleet to port with a single packthread. The re-publication of these puffing paragraphs, though very agreeable to the Commodore's gusto, has no other effect on the minds of the more sensible part of the British inhabitants, than that of making a common laughing stock of *Commodore Gulliver*, as he is now called.

My servant brought me the Pictonian Gazette, from which there issued the following Proclamation, dated the 14th instant.

"TRINIDAD.

"A PROCLAMATION.

"*George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King Defender, of the Faith, and of the United Church of England and Ireland, on Earth the Supreme Head.*

"Whereas by our Letters Patent, under our Great Seal of our United Kingdom of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, bearing date the first day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one,—We did substitute and appoint our truly and well beloved Thomas Picton, Esq. Brigadier General in our army, our sole Governor and Commander in Chief of our said Island of *Trinidad*, and also of our Forts and Garrisons erected and established, or to be erected and established therein, with full power and authority to levy, arm, muster, command and employ all persons whatsoever residing within the said Island, for the protection and defence thereof, as by our said Letters Patent, reference being thereto had, will more fully appear.

"And whereas we did also, by our Commission, given at *Westminster*, on the thirteenth day of October last past, under our Writ of Privy Seal, nominate and substitute our trusty and well-beloved William Fullarton, Esq. our said trusty and well-beloved Thomas Picton, Esq. Brigadier-General in our army, serving in the *Windward* and *Leeward Caribbee Islands*, and our trusty and well-beloved Samuel Hood, Esq. Captain in our Royal Navy, to be our Commissioners for executing the office of our Governor and Commander in Chief, in and over our said Island of *Trinidad*, as also, of all our Forts and Garrisons erected and established, or which should be erected or established within the same, with full power and authority unto them, the said William Fullarton, Thomas Picton and Samuel Hood, by themselves, or any two of them, or by their Captains and Commanders, by them or any two of them appointed, to levy, arm, muster, command and employ all persons whatsoever, residing with-

in our said Island;—and, as occasion should serve, to march them from one place to another, and embark them for the resisting and withstanding all enemies, pirates and rebels, both at land and at sea, and (if it should so please God) to vanquish, apprehend and take them, and, being taken, to cause execution to be done upon them, according to law, or to keep them and preserve them alive, at their discretion, and execute martial law at time of invasion, or at any other times, and to do and execute all such and every thing and things, which to our Governor or Commander in Chief doth, or ought of right to belong, as in and by our said Commission, reference being thereunto had, will more fully appear:—

"And whereas some daring, and evil-minded persons, willing to disturb the tranquillity of our said Island of *Trinidad*, have circulated reports, tending to weaken the establishment of a militia, formed in obedience to such our commands, in our said government, for its defence and protection:—

"We do therefore, hereby proclaim, publish, and declare, (by and with the advice of the Council of our said Island,) that all ordinances, rules, and articles heretofore made, for the levying, arming, mustering, commanding and employing a militia force, within the said Colony of *Trinidad*, shall stand good and valid;—and all persons whomsoever, holding Commissions in our said militia in *Trinidad*, under the appointment of the said Brigadier-General Thomas Picton, or under our said Commissioners, or any two of them, are hereby required to act in conformity thereto. And all persons, whether white or free coloured, levied, armed, mustered, commanded and employed in such militia under such Commissioned Officers, are hereby also required and enjoined, under pain of our highest displeasure, to act in conformity and obedience to the rules and orders laid down for their regulation and discipline.

"Witness, our said trusty and well-beloved Brigadier-General Thomas Picton and Commodore Samuel Hood, at the Council-Chamber, in the town of *Port d'Espana*, in our said Island, this 24th Day of April, in the forty-third year of our reign.

"*God Save The King!*

"THOMAS PICTON.
"SAMUEL HOOD.

"By Command of their Excellencies,

"JOSEPH M. WOODYEAR, SECRETARY."

Stupid as this proclamation is, it clearly exonerates me from joining the militia, as it is now called, for it does not say requisition, but "*employ all persons whatsoever residing within our said Colony,*" and appeal to their commission, in very ambiguous language—"*reference being thereunto had, will more fully appear.*" Here they distinctly call upon all persons residing in the Colony; but surely I cannot come under the term "resident." The laws of the United States of *America* allow six months residence in the country, before any person is called upon to join their militia; and in all instances, strangers are exempted, should they continue longer. I have not been three months in this Colony, and yet I must be put not only in requisition, but to a considerable expence, without any remuneration. Had their commission allowed them to banish those who might resist any oppressive mandate they might issue, I suppose they would be ready enough to tell their subjects of it. Wretched, indeed, are our boasted claims to superior civil and political liberty, when the delegates of his Majesty descend to be the instruments of private vengeance and public oppression! When by a legerdemain in modern politics, a British subject is robbed of his invaluable privileges, handed down to him by his forefathers, by only moving from *Britain* to a British colony! When by an extraordinary stretch of illegal and wanton exertion of authority assumed by two Naval and Military Heroes, an unoffending British subject is dragged from his peaceful habitation, and lodged in a noisome, putrid jail, to associate with negroes afflicted with distempers, there to be poisoned, or kept at their will and pleasure, without assigning or alleging any crime against him, and after all, transport him, like a convicted felon, because he would not consent to sacrifice the immunities of an

Englishman: and for this he must be the victim of violated law, justice and humanity! Where is the servile, unblushing, flagitious wretch, however abandoned, who would dare be the advocate of such diabolical villainy? The honest, independent Englishman, whose heart is as open as his countenance, will, I am sure, shudder with horror, and burn with indignation and resentment when he is made acquainted with the furious conduct of my present oppressors. Here, Sir, you have a specimen of speaking by proclamation; permit me now to shew you a specimen of speaking by paragraph, which appeared as a comment in the same newspaper. It must be remembered that Judge Black * is the editor of this paper, and that Mr. Archibald Gloster †, the Attorney-General,

* I have frequently made honourable mention of Judge Black, in the course of these letters, I hope the reader will not be displeased to hear a little more of him;—Judge Black has made use of the infernal instrument twice in torturing a Mulatto of the name of Modest, who was afterwards banished to the Spanish Main. This was transacted under the reign of the present Governor, Hyslop, who disavows the knowledge of it;—but if he pretends to be so innocent, why has he suffered Christopher, who gave information of their diabolical proceedings, to linger in a jail?—and it is not at all unlikely, that he has been since tortured for giving evidence. His Majesty's ministers have been in possession of every information relative to this circumstance ever since October last;—what steps they have taken is best known to themselves, but the public have a right to be informed, that such a circumstance existed; and, that Lieutenant-Governor Hyslop still commands there!—and Black absconded to America!

A French baker served Judge Black formerly with bread, to a considerable amount, and at last became a clamorous *dun*. The judge denounced him as a *brigand*, and he was about to be banished, when he proposed to remit the amount of the debt, and thereby be allowed to stay;—the poor baker, seeing there was no other alternative, agreed; and he was suffered to remain in the Colony.

† In order that you may know the principles on which that legal adviser counsels Governors, and sometimes the opponents, I shall, if

furnishes paragraphs for it. No doubt one of them wrote the following:

" Last Thursday their Excellencies the Commissioners were pleased to issue a proclamation, respecting the militia forces of this Colony, which, at that moment, became indispensable, because there still unhappily exists among us some remnant of those restless spirits who seek to place all around on an *equality* with their own *happy situation*. It is a pity, and most devoutly to be regretted, that the strong arm of our venerable constitution should not reach the *seducer* of our defenders from their allegiance; but, lo! it so happens in some of our newly acquired possessions, that the existing laws are not unfrequently so far defective as to leave a hole for the perpetrator of even the blackest crimes to creep out of. Were this not the case, we should not so frequently be told of the necessity of such laws as govern the other British Colonies, which at the present moment, cannot consistently be introduced; and of course, not meet with so many instances of the foulest infamy escaping unpunished.

" Had a Despard and his accomplices, says the general voice, been guilty of the same crimes in this Colo-

you desire it, lay before you an opinion, signed Archibald Gloster, advising Mr. Webbe, of notorious memory in *Martinique*, how he might evade the law, and ruin Major-General Keppel, because that excellent Governor attempted to bring him and his partner Mr. Charrurier to justice, for introducing base coin into that Settlement.

The document will shew you the principles of those who direct the Councils, and support the mild and equitable government of Brigadier-General Picton.

Col. Fullarton's letter to Commodore Hood, dated on board the schooner Start, May 24, 1803.

ny, for which they so justly suffered in the mother-country, where would they have met the reward due to their crimes?

"By the proclamation before us, it will appear that all laws, regulations, and ordinances hitherto published for arming and embodying a militia within this Colony, are to be considered as being still in full force and effect."

The militia, as this proclamation now terms it, is mostly composed of young men, who are clerks, or literally speaking, drudges in different stores. The majority of these drudges, are indented before they leave their native country, for three or four years, for a salary from an hundred to two hundred dollars per annum; one hundred dollars at least must be expended annually, in the necessary clothing, &c. for this militia, so that the poor clerk who toils for a small pittance, in a precarious climate, from Monday morning to Saturday night, is obliged on Sunday morning, to attend three hours in a broiling sun, to militia duties, and, after that, instead of going to church, to perform his religious ones, he is obliged to attend store the rest of the day; therefore, his situation in this instance is not preferable to that of the field negro, who is allowed to rest on Sunday. The militia regulations are extremely partial. Those who have the most property at stake, are shamefully excused from its burthens;—independent of that, I know several gentlemen, who, I am informed, have been residing for more than twelve months in the Colony, and have not yet been required to join it; consequently my case is both partial and oppressive, which will be seen by the following letter, addressed to me, by Mr. M'Donald, whom I mentioned in the beginning of this letter.* This gentleman

* Vide page 248.

arrived from *Tortola*, about a month ago on some business, and, refusing to join the volunteer corps, he was arrested and taken before the junior commissioners.—Being anxious to learn the result of his examination, I wrote a note to him, and he politely favoured me with an answer, which my servant brought concealed like a quid of tobacco in his mouth.

" DEAR SIR, " PORT *of* SPAIN, 14*th April*, 1803.

" You may rest assured your happiness is dear to me, and that I am truly interested in your welfare. You ask me how I got clear? After various interrogatories, (too many to be enumerated) and depicting the infamous conduct of the fellow* who endeavoured to vilify my character, in the eye of the community; I was acquitted, and allowed to return home. There was no injunction whatever laid on me to attend the militia duty, which is a demonstrative proof, that you are not oppressed on that account. Your oppressive sufferings must be attributed to some latent cause, known only to themselves. It is well understood, that you are an eye-sore to them, and the bare idea of having their conduct exposed to the world, is probably the reason of their shutting you up in a noxious dungeon, to prevent you from obtaining information relative to their proceedings. There is a forcible remark in the Literary Magazine and British Review of Jan. 1789, which I hope you will strictly attend to, when you are liberated; *i. e.* " that illustrious villains ought to be effaced from the annals of nations, did not a faithful picture of their crimes render them more odious. Writers who have deigned to employ their talents in exposing the depravity of monsters, have, perhaps contributed no less to the happiness of mankind, than those who have exhibited only their virtues.

" In stepping forth the advocate of the injured and oppressed inhabitants of this Colony, and exposing yourself to perils for their sake, will be ultimately a source of satisfaction,

I am, &c."

* The fellow here alluded to is Stephens, already mentioned.—The evening preceding our arrest, this drunken blackguard came into a room where Mr. M'Donald was sitting with some gentlemen,

SEVENTH DAY OF MY CAPTIVITY.

I expected to have been released yesterday, according to Mr. Secretary Woodyear's letter, the reason why I am not is, that the American Captain will not take me unless he is well paid.

In the beginning of these letters, I noticed the population of the Colony, when it was conquered in the year 1797. Last February, the census, as extracted from the reports of the Commissaries of population were as follows:

WHITE PEOPLE.		
English	663	
Spanish	505	
French	1,093	
		2,261
FREE COLOURED PEOPLE.		
English	599	
Spanish	1,751	
French	2,925	
		5,275
Negroes		20,464
Total		28,000

In the course of six years the population increased about eleven thousand; but independent of this increase, it is well known, that Picton's cruelty in executing with-

in M'Kay's tavern, and began to traduce Mrs. Fullarton's character. After taking indecent liberties with others of the Colonel's family, Mr. M'Donald took him by the nose, and kicked him out of the

out trial, the Spanish peon, Celestino, frightened away many hundreds of that most useful class of labourers, which of course is a serious loss to the Colony.—— There cannot be a greater instance of his malignant barbarity recorded, than the seizure of Madame Delzin and her helpless family, who were brought from their residence on the *Spanish Main* to this Island. It is shocking to relate, that they were put on board a leaky vessel, which sunk in the *Gulf*, and all perished.

He ordered one of the plundering detachments, which were frequently sent to the *Main*, to seize Estevan Dubois, a Spaniard ;—accordingly, he was brought to this Bastille, and continued an inhabitant of it eighteen months ; at the end of that time he was sent to *England*.

It would be an endless task to investigate the whole of his atrocities, even if I were permitted. I think I have held up his tyranny as an object of detestation. If I have not formed a new weapon against vice and despotism, I have at least so far done my duty with one which has often fought the battles of impiety and profaneness. I hope I shall soon have it in my power to drag him forth before the public tribunal, arrayed in his blood-stained robes ; and though he has arrived at such a maturity of vice and cruelty, as wholly to disregard the displeasure of heaven, yet he is aware he cannot escape the notice of men, which is now his greatest torment.

In the course of this morning, three negroes were most cruelly flogged. One of them, whom Vallot did not like, he was instigated through wantonness, to put a quantity of salt and vinegar on the excoriated parts, and then cover it with dust.

EIGHTH DAY OF MY CAPTIVITY.

About eleven o'clock, *a. m.*, four alguazils entered my cell, and informed me they had orders to conduct me to the *Mole*. When we got there, we met the harbour-master, to whom I was given in custody.

He went with me to my former lodgings to get my trunks, and about one o'clock I was taken on board an American schooner, bound to *New York*. At my lodgings I met a gentleman, who informed me that Commissioners Picton and Hood, and their panders, were industriously circulating a report that I had been banished before from *Halifax, Nova Scotia*. I told the gentleman I was not surprised at hearing any thing, however false and scandalous, which came from the commissioners, at the same time I assured him, that the report was an invention of their own, and therefore totally false.

I have now, my dear Sir, brought this unexampled recital to a conclusion, and anticipate the anxiety you will feel at such unheard of oppressions being directed against me. I know that you will, as it were, accompany me through the different gradations of my sufferings, and, by sympathy, feel the various perturbations that many would feel under the like circumstances; but to obviate these unpleasant sensations which your partiality may excite, I will candidly acknowledge, that all the vindictive malice, all the tyrannic conduct, all the *hauteur* of self-elected consequence, (I mean so far as directed towards me), never operated on my feelings, so as to deprive me of that internal quiet which oppressed innocence [illegible] the aid of reflection, always experience.

On this occasion, as on many others, I am thankful for that fortitude and energy of mind which has enabled me so often to baffle what the world may term affliction. I will confess to you still more. While I was in this instance, as it were, singled out like a deer from the herd, I ever felt the glow of conscious innocence, and contemplated with ardour that happy period when some fortuitous combination of circumstances, would enable me to develope to the world the crimes of tyrants, who, availing themselves of an appointment originally given for the best of purposes, perverted it to the worst, and, who so far disgraced their authority by acting like a *Bashaw* of *Tripoli*, a representative of the Grand Seignior, not like colonial Governors, emanating from the bounty of a merciful and beneficent Sovereign. I shall not tresspass further on your patience, except to remark, that these facts being handed to you, will tend to disclose to my fellow-subjects in *Great Britain*, that however happy they may be, however much they may pride themselves in being the first subjects in the world, in being situated under the influence of an impartial government, that is ever ready to punish those who dare oppress them, I say, Sir, it will make them acquainted how far tyranny may be exercised by one fellow-subject over another, at this remote distance from the fountain-head of redress.

Vale.

LETTER XVIII.

The Author arrives in New York, *and re-assumes an historical Detail of the Affairs of* Trinidad—*Proclamation of the 27th of April—Indignant Conduct of Brigadier-General Picton—Commodore Hood's Departure—Orders issued to seize and detain Colonel Fullarton—Embargo—Colonel Fullarton's Proceedings at* Barbadoes—*An extraordinary Advertisement—Dispatches from Lord Hobart, defining the Powers vested in the First Commissioner—The Colonel returns to* Trinidad—*The Brigadier's Conduct on that Occasion—Colonel Fullarton's Proclamation—Brigadier-General Picton superseded, and takes a French leave of the Colony, and is addressed by his Panders, together with his Answer—The Joy of the Inhabitants—Proceedings of the Colonel till his final Departure for England, and the affectionate Testimonials of the British Inhabitants.*

NEW YORK, *August*, 1803.

DEAR SIR,

ON the 18th of April last, I was banished from the island of *Trinidad*, by order of Commissioners Picton and Hood, and arrived here on board the schooner Almira, Capt. Kingsland, on the 19th of May, in an ill state of health; but I am now, thank God, so

far recovered as to be able to continue the historical transactions of that Island, according to the information I have received. On the passage, Capt. Kingsland informed me, that he at first refused to take me, but after a short time spent in negociation, and a compliment of *seven hundred dollars*, reluctance vanished. The reason why, in all probability, they were so anxious for my going in this vessel was, because part of her crew were sick of the yellow fever; and one gentleman, who was returning to *New York*, actually died on board. By the active measures which the commissioners adopted, it seems reasonable to suppose that they calculated either on my death or the total ruin of my health. However, they have been disappointed; and I hope some time or other to appear in judgment against them.

After I was banished, the reign of terror continued, together with illegal imprisonments and mutilations; and many who were thought capable of giving evidence against the Brigadier, were illegally sent off the Island.

On the 27th of April, the following proclamation came before the public:

"TRINIDAD.

"A PROCLAMATION.

"*By their Excellencies Brigadier-General* THOMAS PICTON *and Commodore* SAMUEL HOOD, *his Majesty's Commissioners for executing the Office of Governor of* Trinidad, *&c.*

"WHEREAS it now appears that Colonel William Fullarton, his Majesty's First Commissioner for this Government, hath withdrawn himself therefrom, and from the duties thereof, without his Majesty's leave, and without permission from us, or any consultation with his Majesty's Council of this Island: We do, therefore, by and with

the advice of his Majesty's said Council, hereby proclaim and declare, that we consider and deem the said William Fullarton no longer officiating as one of his Majesty's Commissioners in the government of this Island; and we require all persons, civil and military, to govern themselves accordingly.

"Given under our hands and seals, at the Council-Chamber, at *Port d'Espana*, this twenty-seventh day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and three, and in the forty-third year of his Majesty's reign.

"THOMAS PICTON.
"SAMUEL HOOD.

"By Command of their Excellencies,
"JOSEPH WOODYEAR, Secretary."

On the 28th, the Brigadier ordered the sentinel to be withdrawn from Colonel Fullarton's house, and threatened the people employed to fill up with earth some ravines made round the house to carry off the stagnated waters, at the same time commanding them to desist on the pain of being sent to prison; and actually made a couple of carts, that were employed filling up the ravines with earth, to be unloaded in sight of the front gallery where Mrs. Fullarton and Miss M'Kay were standing, who were attracted there by his loud vociferations.

After issuing the above proclamation, and vesting all powers of government solely in the hands of the Brigadier, Commodore Hood sailed from *Trinidad;* but, before he sailed, he gave orders to the officer commanding one of his Majesty's armed brigs in the *Gulf* of *Paria*, to obey such instructions as he might receive from the Brigadier, who, accordingly, gave orders to seize the schooner Start, whenever she arrived, and detain Colonel Fullarton prisoner. An embargo was laid on all vessels in the port, garrison and militia orders, together with one for martial law, were even issued and to be in force on

the firing of three guns. At this time it was expected, that, after the Colonel had surveyed the Island he would return to *Port of Spain*, and therefore it was understood, that all these orders were contrived for the purpose of arresting and detaining him, but in this the Brigadier's views were frustrated; for the Colonel, instead of anchoring at *Port of Spain*, and proceeding by violent measures to re-assume the government, sailed from *Point Icaque*, across the *Gulf* of *Paria*, directly for *Barbadoes*, where he received dispatches from Lord Hobart, dated the 23d of April, expressing, that the King had been graciously pleased to accept of the Brigadier's resignation, approving of the first commissioner's arrangements, for the establishment and benefit of white settlers, and defining the powers and authorities vested in the first commissioner. The Colonel also received notice of the following extraordinary advertisement respecting the criminal records.

"ADVERTISEMENT.

"WHEREAS it appears that Thirty-Six Criminal Processes, in original, have been illegally removed from the office of Record of the Public Scrivener Don Francisco de Castro, (who had been in consequence confined and suspended,) and notwithstanding every endeavour to discover the same, no satisfactory information has been obtained:—And it being of the utmost importance to the community to recover those papers, *Public Notice* is hereby given, that a reward of ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS will be paid to the person or persons, who will deliver us, or either of us, the said Thirty-six original Criminal Processes, or give such information as will lead to a discovery thereof; and if any person or persons are hereafter convicted of having concealed the same, after this notice, he or they will be prosecuted according to law.

"*Port Espana*,
"*16th of April*, 1803.

"JOHN BLACK.
"NICHOLAS SAINT FE."

The moment the Colonel received Lord Hobart's dispatches, he communicated the contents to General Grinfield, saying, that in the event of the Brigadier offering any resistance on his return to the seat of government, he was determined not to hazard the tranquility of the Colony, by enforcing a landing, and therefore, should leave the question of such resistance to be adjusted by General Grinfield, as a mere point of military power and aggression.

On the 1st of June he left *Bridgetown*, and after sailing round the eastern side of *Trinidad*, and inspecting the different settlements in the vicinity of *Port Icaque*, *Port de la Brœ*, *Naparime*, and *Petit Bourg*, he arrived at *Port* of *Spain* on the 6th, under the immediate protection of Captain Columbine, of his Majesty's ship Ulysses. It is an absolute fact, however incredible it may appear, that Brigadier-General Picton made military arrangements to attack and resist the landing of his Majesty's first commissioner, and orders were issued for the distribution of the troops, ball-cartridges, and ammunition were prepared*. The sentinels on the Mole, and other places, were directed to stop and examine all boats whatever, and to resist the landing of the first commissioner;—and they even went so far as to endeavour to stop and examine the boats belonging to his Majesty's ship Ulysses; and what is still more remarkable, Mrs. Fullarton was under the necessity of putting herself under the protection of Captain Columbine, when she visited the Colonel on board the schooner Start.

The enraged Brigadier sent a letter with Brigade-Major Pitman to the Colonel, signifying his determination to resist him if he attempted to land, and likewise inclosed a copy of the proclamation of the 27th of

* Vide Appendix, No. .

April, together with copies of the minutes of council, of the 3d and 6th of June.

The gunner at the sea-fort, on being interrogated by the harbour-master, regarding the obedience of his orders, to fire on the Colonel, replied, that he must of course obey his orders, else suffer; yet, at the same time, his high esteem for the Colonel, would induce him to fire over his head if he came ashore.

On the 9th of June, Colonel Fullarton addressed a letter to the Brigadier, inclosing the following proclamation, contradicting the mis-statements in the one of the 27th of April.

" TRINIDAD, 16th JUNE, 1803.

" A PROCLAMATION,

" *By* WILLIAM FULLARTON, *his Majesty's First Commissioner for executing the office of Governor of* Trinidad.

" WHEREAS on the 27th of April, a Proclamation was issued, signed Thomas Picton, Samuel Hood, stating, that the first Commissioner for this Government, had withdrawn himself therefrom, and from the duties thereof, without his Majesty's leave, and without permission from the said Thomas Picton and Samuel Hood, or any consultation with his Majesty's Council of this Island;—therefore, by and with the advice of his Majesty's said Council, proclaiming and declaring, in the name of the junior Commissioners, that they considered the said William Fullarton no longer officiating as one of his Majesty's Commissioners in the government of this Island, and requiring all persons, civil and military, to govern themselves accordingly.

" Now his Majesty's loyal subjects are hereby informed, that the said Proclamation of the 27th of April, contains a direct violation of the King's authority, and tends to excite the inhabitants of this Island to disobedience and insurrection. That the first Commissioner never did withdraw from his duty, nor act without the King's leave; on the contrary he proceeded on a survey and other matters, neces-

sary to enable him to fulfil the objects specified by his Majesty's commands. On the 19th of March, he stated to the junior Commissioners, in writing, the public objects which would require his temporary absence from the *Port* of *Spain*;—and on the 24th of March, he laid the communication in question before his Majesty's Council, who never intimated to him any objection on this subject.

"It is further notified, that a dispatch, dated the 23d of April, has been received from the Right Honourable Lord Hobart, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, intimating that Brigadier-General Picton, having applied to be relieved from the duties of a Commissioner, his Majesty had been graciously pleased to acquiese in his request.

"And with a view of providing as much as possible against any misconception of the powers of the respective Commissioners, his Lordship had his Majesty's commands to signify to them, that it was his pleasure that the command of the militia should be held solely by Mr. Fullarton, in like manner as it is held by the several governors in the *West Indies*, and that as first Commissioner, Mr. Fullarton should represent the executive government in the intervals between the meetings of the Commissioners in Council, but subject to the controul of the majority, and making the opinions of such majority, duly recorded upon the minutes of Council, the rule of his conduct. All orders that might be issued in the intervals between the meetings of Council, and for the promulgation of which, the public Secretary might not already have received instructions, were to proceed from the first Commissioner, and must be respected in the same manner as if they proceeded from the board of Commissioners, until they should be revoked by their authority. And if it should at any time happen that the military Commissioner should be absent from the Island, and that no other general officer should at the time be employed upon the staff of the Island, whenever such a case might occur, it was his Majesty's pleasure that the military command should devolve on the first Commissioner, in like manner as it has been provided for in all his Majesty's governments in the *West Indies*.

"The first Commissioner need hardly enjoin the dutiful and loyal subjects of *Trinidad*, civil and military, to give due obedience to these orders of his Majesty.

"WILLIAM FULLARTON.

"GOD SAVE THE KING."

By the hostile measures which the Brigadier adopted, no doubt whatever remains on my mind, that it was his intention, (if the Colonel exhibited any indication of using force,) to render the Colony a scene of civil warfare, and in the moment of confusion, devote to massacre every individual capable of exposing his delinquencies!

The plan of this intended massacre had long been contrived, and the scheme of justifying it prepared, founded on the unavoidable consequence of the Colonel's alleged violence and insanity.* The numerous individuals marked out for destruction, would be stated to have fallen a sacrifice to the generous indignation of the better order of virtuous inhabitants, resenting the imputation thrown out upon the character of the "*trusty and well-beloved*" Brigadier-General Picton!

On the 14th June, Brigadier-General Frederick Maitland, arrived from *Barbadoes*, and brought Brigadier-General Picton the following letter from Lieutenant-General Grinfield.

"SIR, "*Barbadoes, June* 12, 1803.

"I HAVE the honour to receive your letter and the minutes of the Council of *Trinidad*, both dated the 3d instant.

"I have long seen with the most serious concern the unfortunate disagreements among the gentlemen composing the commission of the government of *Trinidad*, but I was in hopes that matters would have been adjusted without a reference to me—but as you and the Council holding the government of that Island, during the absence of the Commissioners, have addressed yourselves to me, and desiring my interference, I think it my duty to do that which I think will fulfil the intention of his Majesty;—I have therefore directed

* Commissioners Picton and Hood, in their joint letters to Lord Hobart, of the 24th, 28th of March, and 2d of April, charge the Colonel with mental derangement.

Brigadier-General Maitland to relieve you in the military command of *Trinidad*, who will have from me directions for his immediate conduct.

" Give me leave at the same time, to say, that though I think it necessary to place Brigadier-General Maitland instead of yourself in the military command of *Trinidad*, it is not that I have the smallest occasion to be dissatisfied with any part of your military conduct, but that at this moment I consider an officer who has not had any participation in the existing differences most suitable to the occasion.

" As the orders of yesterday, a copy of which is herewith inclosed, express, it is my desire to give you as much time as you may judge necessary, for your arrangements, previous to your leaving *Trinidad*; you will, therefore, not hurry yourself, either in coming here or going to *Europe*, either of which is in your option.

" I have the honour to be, sir,

" Your very obedient and humble servant,

" W. GRINFIELD, L. G.

" To Brigadier-General Picton, &c. &c."

Brigadier-General Picton knowing it was not prudent for him to remain in the Colony a moment after he was divested of his command, after taking an affecting leave of his darling copper-coloured Rosette, he precipitately embarked on board the brig Nelly, under cover of the night, and immediately sailed.

Prior to this his panders were very active in procuring signatures to the following address, which was presented to him on the 4th of June; and out of six hundred and sixty-three English inhabitants in the Colony, forty-eight only signed it, which is at once a convincing proof of the little esteem in which they hold him.

"*To his Excellency Brigadier-General* THOMAS PICTON, *one of the Commissioners for executing the office of Governor of the Island of* Trinidad.

"THE ADDRESS OF THE PRINCIPAL PROPRIETORS AND INHABITANTS OF THE SAID ISLAND.

"WE whose name are undersigned, owners of real property, and principal residents of *Trinidad*, penetrated with sentiments of veneration and respect, beg leave to approach your Excellency, with our warmest acknowledgments, for the wise, equitable, and successful measures which have so long and so eminently marked the administration of your government*, in situations of the most extraordinary difficulty that could possibly occur in a West India settlement.

"In a conquered Colony, possessing the seeds of interior insurrection and insubordination†—menaced, and even preparations made for attack, from the enemies of the British empire without—destitute of ships of war to guard the coast—fortresses to withstand assault, and at times with a very inconsiderable garrison, you stood undismayed—preserved tranquillity and order, and inspired his Majesty's loyal subjects with the strongest confidence—your vigilance, your vigour, and your activity supplied the want of physical forces, and you obtained, from your enemies, the greatest eulogium that can be bestowed upon a military chief—A PROCLAMATION SETTING A PRICE UPON YOUR HEAD‡—for they were well convinced that while you

* The sycophants who signed this address ought to have pointed out distinctly the "*wisdom and equity of his successful measures*." For my own part, I am at a great loss to comprehend the equity of torturing helpless women and children, mutilating, hanging, and burning several unfortunate creatures, under suspicion of holding converse with the Devil, and dispensing with legal forms to satiate his revenge.

† This is totally false; and I defy his whole host of panders to point out one solitary instance in support of their assertion!

‡ This proclamation, by the Governor-General of the *Carraccas*, originated from the Brigadier's frequent attempts to corrupt the inhabitants of the Main, whom he afterwards deserted, and left to the

lived, and governed *Trinidad*, but faint hopes could be entertained of its being recovered by the combined enemies of *Great Britain*.

"To the gracious Sovereign who sways the British empire, the most heartfelt gratitude is due, not only for the great benefits we enjoy under his most mild and auspicious reign, but for his continuing your Excellency in the exercise of your military functions, and as one of the Commission for the government of *Trinidad*; and in order to manifest more explicitly to his royal view, and to the world at large, our affectionate regard for your Excellency (TO WHOSE ENERGY WE OWE, UNDER GOD, OUR LIVES AND PROPERTIES), We beg leave RESPECTFULLY, to request that you will do us the honor to accept a SWORD, which we have ordered forthwith to be prepared in *London*; and we most fervently pray the Almighty Disposer of all events, to give your Excellency long life to wear it, and we doubt not of the honour with which you will wield it, when called upon to act, as a General Officer, in the Service of your King and Country.

"*Trinidad*, 28th April, 1803."

"To this address his Excellency, with his feelings evidently considerably affected, by this conspicuous and unsought testimony of affection and esteem, made the following reply*:—

"TRINIDAD, *June* 4, 1803.

"*GENTLEMEN*,

"MY success in preserving the Sovereignty and tranquillity of this important Colony, during dangerous and critical times, with the very inconsiderable force entrusted to my command, is to be attributed to the general and steady co-operation of the Proprietors at large, whose zeal and activity, on all trying occasions, merit my warmest acknowledgments.

mercy of their offended government, who put many of them to death. A copy of this proclamation came to the Brigadier's hands, which he printed and circulated, thinking it would add to his military fame.

* Vide the *Trinidad* Weekly Courant Extraordinary of the 7th of June, 1803.

"You, gentlemen, who personally witnessed the difficulties I had to struggle with, from the commencement, throughout the whole period of my extended command, are alone capable of justly appreciating the merits of my administration.

"I accept the SWORD you have done me the honor of voting, as a public testimony of your opinion, much enhanced by the time and handsome manner of its declaration.

"I have the honor to be,

"GENTLEMEN,

"Your very faithful and devoted humble Servant,

"THOMAS PICTON.

"To the Gentlemen of the Committee,
"for presenting an Address to Brigadier-General Picton."

Another address was presented by his panders, to send to his Majesty, requesting that his resignation would not be accepted. A copy of which I am sorry was not transmitted to me.

Colonel Fullarton landed on the 17th of June, from his Majesty's ship Ulysses, accompanied by Captain Columbine. All the vessels in the port voluntarily hoisted their colours, except the one commanded by Captain Romaine, who was under the influence of Mr. Gloster.

On the Colonel landing at the *Mole*, he was received in the most gratifying manner by all descriptions of inhabitants, both civil and military, excepting ten members of the Illustrious Cabildo, and four members of the council, with the rest of the infamous wretches devoted to Picton and his sanguinary measures. In King-street the militia corps were drawn up, when the Colonel was received with presented arms, saluted by the officers as he passed along, and escorted to government-house by a detachment of regulars and the light infantry. It was with much difficulty that the inhabitants were restrained

from demonstrating their joy by a general illumination, which would have been very dangerous in a town entirely built with wood.

The Colonel's first object was to summon the members of the council on the 20th. Some of them who had been steady friends to Picton, refused to act, and signified their reasons in writing. Woodyear, that wretched tool, tendered his resignation; though he proved unqualified and unworthy to fill the important situation of public secretary, yet as he had been re-instated by Lord Hobart's order of the 23d of April, the Colonel declined accepting it.

A new council was immediately formed, consisting of men much more respectable than that which composed the old one, and more distinguished for their principles of moderation.

Soon after this, Colonel Fullarton received a letter from Lord Hobart, communicating the declaration of hostilities with *France*. The Island was instantly put into a formidable state of defence; but amidst the hurry and anxiety attending on these active duties, the Colonel was not unmindful of promoting an inquiry respecting the natural history of the western hemisphere.

In conjuction with Dr. Anderson of *St. Vincent*, Mr. Vargas*, and other scientific men, he prepared the plan of a society, the object of which was to diffuse a spirit of inquiry, and collect information relative to the various objects not only connected with natural history, mineralogy, but chemical researches, and agricultural improvements in *Trinidad*, with corresponding members in all

* Mr. Vargas is a gentleman possessed of great practical acquirements, general science, and deep legal knowledge; having been secretary to three viceroys in the new kingdom of *Grenada*, at *Santa Fe di Bagota*.

parts of *South America*, and the West India Islands. I am sorry to say that this plan will fall to the ground, as the Colonel is re-called, and his successor has no taste for such laborious pursuits.

On the 27th of June, Colonel Fullarton visited the *Illustrious Cabildo*, and demanded a sight of their proceedings during his absence from the Colony, which was reluctantly granted.

He found that this infamous body of disgraceful miscreants, had recorded a mass of calumnies and falsehood against him, unequalled in the recorded transactions of any government, which they fabricated and transmitted to Lord Hobart, with a view of repelling the criminal accusation and imputations against the Brigadier, and saving him, if possible, from the vengeance of the laws of *England*, which he so often reprobated and insulted.

In the mean time, the Colonel received letters from *England*, informing him that his Majesty's ministers had resolved to direct a judicial investigation of the charges against the Brigadier, who must be obliged to return to *England* for that purpose. As soon, therefore, as the Colonel had arranged the internal regulations of the government, and put the defence of the Island in a respectable degree of forwardness, he proceeded to refute by evidence, the falsehoods which had been industriously fabricated against him. He obtained, by Mr. Woodyear's examination, a complete and specific refutation of the whole of what that disgraceful mortal asserted; who, it seems, corresponded privately with one of his Majesty's ministers, to whom he transmitted his fabrications.

Whilst the Colonel had Messrs. Black and St. Pé under examination, Brigadier-General Hyslop arrived, which unfortunately prevented him from any further investigation of this subject.

The Colonel received Brigadier-General Hyslop on his landing with every mark of respect, who delivered a letter from Lord Hobart, dated the 20th of May, the contents of which the Colonel communicated to his successor and the Council. Next day preparations were made for receiving the new Governor publicly, and his own departure, which took place on the 20th of July.

I shall now close this historical detail with the following address to the Colonel, which will prove, beyond a doubt, the high distinction in which he was held by a very great majority of the British inhabitants and others: it is certainly the strongest panegyric on his meritorious conduct. The first address is signed by two hundred Englishmen of respectability, while the one that was presented to Brigadier-General Picton, on the the 4th of June, is signed by about fifty, most of whom are implicated in the crimes alledged against him, and the rest, independent of being unconscious of any public virtue, are dependents, and leagued together to screen their chief from justice.

Address to Colonel Fullarton.

" *To his Excellency Colonel* WILLIAM FULLARTON, *his Majesty's First Commissioner for executing the office of Governor in* Trinidad.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

" WE, the undersigned Merchants, Planters, and others, inhabitants of *Trinidad*, beg leave to assure your Excellency of our unfeigned esteem, affection, and confidence.

" We feel, in the highest degree, sensible of the paternal solicitude of our gracious Sovereign, in appointing, as first Commissioner of this Island, a man whose talents, integrity, and honor have been so often and so highly tried and approved; and lament exceedingly, that we have so long been deprived of your Excellency's presence amongst us, by an opposition as extraordinary and unexpected, and

we conceive it to be unjust, unexampled, and improper. We assert to your Excellency our disapprobation of the Proclamation dated "*Trinidad*, April 27th," as repugnant to justice, and inimical to the peace and welfare of the Colony, and of the resolution of Brigadier-General Picton, and his Majesty's Council, of the 6th of June, as a direct violation of his Majesty's command, communicated by Lord Hobart's letter of April 23d.

"We beg to express to your Excellency our full conviction that your Excellency is, in every respect, worthy of the high trust reposed in you by his Majesty, and our confident hope of soon seeing the Colony flourish under your wise, prudent, and conciliating measures, as sole Governor, and in the administration of the equitable and admirable system of British jurisprudence.

"We feel it our duty to declare our admiration of the prudent and wise measure of your Excellency, in pursuing, at the moment you chose for that purpose, those objects of his Majesty's commission which could effectually be carried on at a distance from *Port of Spain*, and assure your Excellency of our belief, that this conduct contributed most certainly and efficiently to the tranquillity which this Colony has continued to enjoy.

"We have the most perfect conviction that your Excellency's government in *Trinidad*, will afford comfort and conciliation to all around you, and that your well-known disposition will speedily heal all differences which may, unhappily, have appeared amongst us; and beg to assure your Excellency that you will receive every support and assistance which may become loyal British subjects, from the undersigned, who are happy in this opportunity of declaring, in this plain manner, our warm regard and esteem for your Excellency's character and person.

"James Rigby	A. Watherson	David Park
A. E. Crookshank	Jasper Lyon	Thomas Kenny
N. Lynch	John Wilson	James Perry
J. Montgomerie	George Dickson	John Cririe
Thomas Paull	William Dickson	W. Findlay
W. Brown	James Fisher	Stephen Judkin
Thomas Smith	John Foulk	Robert Burns
G. Fitzwilliam	Robert Bryce	W. M'Kenzie, Jun.
Philip Camm	George Barclay	John Timbrill
W. Patterson	William Ball	W. Carr

F. M'Namara	A. Campbell	Lachlan M'Bean
W. Belk	James Hargrove	James Adrian
Joseph Timbrill	W. Sullivan	R. Washington
John Sewell	A. M'Auley	Colin Adam
E. W. Bradshaw	Simon Watt	F. A. Capriana
J. S. Rutherford, Planter	Robert Douglas	Nicholas West
W. M'Kay	Chev. d'Amarame	W. Sewell
R. B. Walker	A. Savini	J. T. Proby
W. M. Brown	Charles D. Libut	G. Doncaster
Richard King	Ruby Flyn	Garry and Reach
A. Symons	Joseph Rivers	J. Campbell
M. R. Embleton	David J Rivers	Thomas Sanders
W. Gray	John Horan	W. Patten
W. Lorimer	Joseph Tait, jun.	John Munro
W. Broadfoot	John Farquharson	Peter Morrison
Henry Warthon	Joseph Simpson	R. J. Stephens
Alexander Mitchell	Lawrence Smith	W. Kelly
George Potter	Edward Carney	Thomas Warwick
Alexander M'Intosh	Frederick T. Lynch	E. Platts
Walter St. John	Jeffry Lynch	P. H. Leonard
W. Caldwell	John Sanderson	J. Monereau
Anthony Moore	James Taylor	Alexander Burn
John M'Intosh	Butel St. Ville	William Rose
Constantine Egan	J. B. Luez Beaupre	Joseph Trueman
John Gauntlett	John Pierre Saulger	William Perry
R. H. Smith	W. B. M'Namara	T. T. Pasea
James Rose	W. H. Scott	Thomas Higham
John Findlay	John A. Savery	John Shaw
Maxwell Thompson	Isaac Dickson	John M'Crobie
John M'Kay	William Proctor	Thomas Edwards
Robert Gibson	Marc. Fransechi	J. Thompson
J. S. Griffiths	Edward Johnson	Abram Dickson
Samuel Jones	Antoine Gardie	John Fosley
W. Grundy	Thomas G. Tyler	Samuel Morris
Jacob Davis	Simeon Gardie	James Shennan
John Rees	David Sutherland	Anthony Gilks
Thomas Davis	J. V. Indave	Ephraim Painter
George Munro	J. P. Mendez	R. Skinner
Charles Chapman	John Diggan	W. Smith
William Hanna	Pable Glaseppi	James Bourke
Richard Kennedy	J. F. Williams	John Thatcher
W. J. Roberts	George Allan	William Tolmie
W. Wane	G. S. Middleton	Thomas Edgar

J. Stewart	Le Chev. d'Audat	William Tolmie
David M'Cowan	W. Bord	Thomas Edgar
W. Walker	Luc Mazeley	R. Townsend
Patrick Casey	Rene Pecheco	Stephen Chamley
James Jack	W. Kewley	J.Rutherford,Sur.Gen.
—— M'Comie	Ellar M'Keller	John Smith
James Anderson	Thomas Brett	John Mathison
Daniel M'Intyre	Jean Bonevit	Louis Crombet
James Harvey	Thomas Roberts	John Hallam
W. Benning	Logan Mitchell	Robert Hutchinson
John Allason	Joseph Morgan	James Johnston
William Stephens	Antonio Mendez	George Shevig
Edward Rivers	Thomas Pickford	James Whittaker
Edward P. Wolfe	E. Conolly	James Cleghorn
Randle M'Donneg	Henry Leathom	Arthur Robertson
Thomas Gibbons	G. Redford	Simon Glayas
J. W. Martindale	David Davies	John Banks
P. Dougnahe	James Davies	John Smith
—— Renisson	Richard Davies	J. H. Jacobs
—— Lordat	John Thatchie	D. A. Alcala

" *Colonel Fullarton's Answer.*

" PORT of SPAIN, *July 12th*, 1803.

" GENTLEMEN,

" IT is impossible for me to express, how much I am gratified by the testimony of confidence and approbation conveyed in the Address with which you have honored me.

" At any period, I should have my public conduct highly distinguished by such a declaration, from so respectable a body of men, including nearly all the inhabitants engaged in mercantile concerns, and so many others possessing extensive property, and deeply interested in the welfare of the Colony.

" At the present moment, however, additional value is attached to the unsolicited expressions of your sentiments, from the transactions which have occurred since my first arrival in *Trinidad*, and from gross mis-statements, contrived for the purpose of repelling accusations of antecedent delinquency, by new aggressions, and of every species of aspersion.

"As the proceedings to which your Address alludes, as well as many other transactions, must unavoidably become the subject of public discussion;—I shall only at present express my satisfaction, that you, Gentlemen, who are so well acquainted with the local circumstances of this Island, have declared your unqualified approbation of the principles on which I acted, and of the moderation and conciliatory temper from which I have never deviated.

"I have had the good fortune to experience very general and efficient support, in my endeavours, by gradual and progressive means, to accelerate the growing spirit of cultivation and improvement.

"I shall ever feel with exultation, that during the short period in which I have acted in the Government of this Island, it has fallen to my lot to vindicate the English name and character from injurious imputations, and to relieve the inhabitants from a system of illegal violence and oppression, directly contrary to the mild, wise, and liberal policy enjoined by the instructions of his Majesty's Ministers, and the established principles of British jurisprudence.

"I have the honour to be,

"With the greatest respect and estimation,

"GENTLEMEN,

"Your most faithful and obedient servant,

(Signed) "W. FULLARTON.

"To the Hon. Col. Rigby, and the Gentlemen who accompanied him with the Address."

"*Address of the People of Colour, British.*

"JUNE 17, 1803.

"*To His Excellency Colonel* WILLIAM FULLARTON, *His Majesty's First Commissioner for executing the Office of Governor of the Island of Trinidad.*

"WE, His Majesty's loyal British subjects, the people of colour of *Trinidad*, penetrated with sentiments of respect and veneration, beg leave to approach your Excellency, with our sincerest congratulations on the return of your Excellency to your Government.

"We humbly beg leave to join our thanks and admiration (with the other British inhabitants) of the wisdom, prudence, and moderation which governed your Excellency's conduct, on an occasion the most alarming to all loyal subjects;—we deeply lamented the difficulties your beloved Excellency had to encounter, in fulfilling the gracious will of our beloved Sovereign.

"We, as well as the greatest part of His Majesty's natural and loyal subjects, have regretted much, the indignities offered to your Excellency, but feel the greatest satisfaction that they have served to cast a greater lustre on your Excellency's character.

"To the most benevolent of Sovereigns, he who sways the British sceptre, the warmest thanks are due, not only for the wise choice he has made of your Excellency, but for making all British subjects think and feel that they live in a British Colony, and have a British Governor.

"Lewis V. Le Blanc	M. Barkerson	J. Hamilton
James Douglas	A. C. Jackson	J. Steel
George Porter Frye	J. Johnson	C. Bertie
Charles Grant	A. Audain	J. Browne
Thomas Claxton	Henry Kregutan	J. Bruce
George Glenny	William Armorest	M. Boucaut
John Harrison	John Birkmyre	William Lynch
William Dyer	Richard Blacman	Ebenezer Todd
Andrew Hamilton	Charles Farrell, sen.	John Munro
Peter Amey	Charles Farrell, jun.	John Macke
T. Blandin	Wm. Clark	Thomas Colling
Richard Harper	Wm. M'Millan	Andrew Smith
Abraham Amey	Wm. Corbett	Simon M'Kenzie
Joseph Amey	B. Huggins	Peter Dumaine
Stephen Nihell	Peter Martinborough	Richard Rilen
John Cooke,	J. Foihe	John Williams
James Stilling	W. Foihe	John Portens
A. Ravene	Charles Champion	Joseph Mayers
Richard Wilston	J. O. Brown	Wm. Huggins
James Stewart	C. Dyer	R. M'Shaine
Wm. Mardenbrough	J. Thibou	Thomas M'Shaine
David Cuvige	J. Wetheral	James Allers
Jno. Baptiste Valmore	W. Delany	John Allers
Benedict W. Cuvige	B. Dwyer	Joseph Wickham

Charles Nibbes	W. Hurbert	Henry O'Brien
S. O. Taylor	M. Hazell	Benjamin Warner
James Browne	J. Morson	John Morgan
John Dyer	T. Kerrett	George Gay
Joseph A. Blandin	T. Branker	Wm. Scaggin
William Coakly	S. H. Jesup	Andrew Ravene
Abraham Alvarás	J. Thomas	B. Delevaugh."
George Rutherford	T. C. Artenstell	
Charles Nathan	T. Phipps	

"*Answer to the Address presented to Col. Fullarton, by the British People of Colour.*

"GENTLEMEN,

"THE Address with which you have honoured me, has conveyed to my mind the most sincere satisfaction.

"From what I have personally experienced during my residence in this Island, I am well assured that the sentiments of loyalty it contains, will ever be zealously supported by your adherence to the oath of allegiance, voluntarily taken to our gracious Sovereign, which binds you to the strictest obedience to the laws, and in return, secures to you, under every faithful Representative of the King, that protection and those blessings which by our happy Constitution, it is the chief glory of a British Monarch to bestow.

"Accept, Gentlemen, my best thanks for the favourable sentiments you express of my conduct, in the different circumstances which have occurred to obstruct my efforts for promoting the welfare and happiness of all the classes which compose this valuable Colony. It has been my earnest wish and endeavour to introduce the principles of conciliation, and to afford inviolable security to the property and person of every individual. On the other hand, it gives me the utmost satisfaction to bear this public testimony, that in no instance have I ever found either the white or coloured population of *Trinidad* inclined to deviate from due order and subordination.

"I feel highly gratified by the confidence you are pleased to express, that in fulfilling the trust reposed in me, all the inhabitants of *Trinidad* will experience the blessings of a British government.—Were not this my first object, I should but ill discharge my duty to

the King, and neglect the wise and liberal instructions by which his Majesty's Ministers hoped to ensure the prosperity and improvement of the Settlement.

"Be assured of my cordial wishes for your happiness, and my firm reliance, that, by a continuance of your present loyal and obedient conduct, you will ever rank amongst the most valuable and respectable subjects belonging to the British dominions.

"I have the honour to be,

"GENTLEMEN,

"Your faithful and obedient servant,

(Signed) "W. FULLARTON."

LETTER XIX.

The Yellow Fever—New York Deserted—Anecdote of a Reverend Clergyman—Case of a Stranger—Remarks on the Origin of the Fever—Distressing Case of a Young Lady—General Observations on the Arts, Commerce, Manners, and Factions of America—A Letter respecting the Robbery Committed by Jerome Bonaparte at Cape François.

NEW YORK, *October*, 1803.

DEAR SIR,

THE yellow fever commenced its destructive ravages in this place on the 17th of last July. The malady is understood to have been imported in the French

ship La Victorie, from *Cape Francois*, in the island of *St. Domingo*. The Captain confessed that some of his crew had been ill previous to his departure, but they had all recovered; yet, it appears by the evidence of one Kelso, a custom-house officer, who was stationed on board while the vessel was discharging, and observed part of the crew sick, that the first person who fell a victim to this direful disease, was a young man of the name of Smith, a clerk in a store within a few yards of the place where the vessel was unloading, and who was in habit of going on board to plague a monkey:—he was taken ill on the 17th, and died in six days after.

Part of the crew of a brig laying close along side of the Victorie, died in a few days, though they went into the country. The Victorie came from a place, where the malady was daily destroying considerable numbers of Bonaparte's blood-hounds. Though these circumstances were known to the *United States*, yet, the quarantine laws were not enforced, which is one of the evils attending all feeble inefficient governments.

This pestilential matter seems now to be firmly fixed in the *United States*, for it appears to have been committing its ravages, during a period of ten successive years, alternately, between this place and *Philadelphia*.

Before the 30th of July, the whole of the east side of the town was entirely abandoned by the inhabitants, who fled for shelter to the country, but still the malady opened in other parts towards the middle, and the number of deaths continued to augment. Having no idea that the disease was contagious to the extent I have since found, I felt no apprehension for my own personal safety, and therefore walked out every day. A reverend clergyman, who has often changed his political opinion, urged his congregation, mostly composed of

North Britons, to remain in town, telling them, that the *Lord* sent this calamity to punish the wicked, for their ingratitude and disobedience; therefore it was insulting the Almighty if his congregation abandoned the town, instead of remaining to administer comfort to the poor and distressed. He enforced his arguments by telling them that the Almighty would protect them in the midst of danger and disease.

Notwithstanding all this preaching, he was one of the first who decamped, leaving his flock to take care of themselves in the best manner they could. This reverend gentlemen has often been inconsistent, for in the early part of the French revolution, he was, with many others in the *United States*, a great admirer of the blood-thirsty patriots of *France*. He even went farther; he both prayed and preached for the destruction of the British constitution, and was, in the year 1794, a member of a jacobin club, of which one of the Livingston family was president. The object of this club was to proscribe, and finally to destroy any one in *New York*, who entertained sentiments in favor of *England*. Fortunately for many, the president died, and his infatuated colleagues changed their political sentiments, as well as the reverend chaplain, who had hitherto inflamed their minds with the idea, that mankind would never be happy while the British were masters of the sea! I now find him as violent against the French, as he was formerly against the British.

In the year 1793-4, it was dangerous for any loyal Briton to appear in the streets of any of the sea-port towns of *America*, and in frequent instances, the laws of hospitality have been violated in the most flagrant manner. Even at present, the Americans, with a few exceptions, have a deep rooted antipathy against the British!

I was walking one day in Pearl-street, soon after the yellow fever assumed a formidable aspect, when I observed a genteel dressed person laying in one of the shambles, and a negro standing close by him, of whom I inquired who the person was, and the reason he was laying there. The negro replied that he was a stranger, from *Virginia*, and had been in town but a few days before he was taken sick; that he been turned out of his lodging the preceding night, and was obliged to take shelter in the market, because he could not find a house to receive him;—he had resigned his breath a few minutes before I approached. In the mean time, the dead-cart, as they call it, came past, in which the corpse was thrown like a bundle of hay, and carried to Potter's field, the common burial place, situated about a couple of miles from town, where large holes are dug, in which the coffins are promiscuously deposited without ceremony. It frequently happened, that the labourers neglected to cover the coffins with a sufficient quantity of earth, by which the putrid effluvia became so offensive to the olfactory organs, that it was almost impossible to approach the place. In addition to this, the wharfs and slips on the north side of the town are very offensive, particularly at the bottom of Vesy-street, where a large bank of putrescent matter is suffered to form, which I am sure, cannot be in any way conducive to the health of the inhabitants.

Dr. Pringle somewhere observes, that such filth has little influence in producing pestilential diseases; but one would suppose that the putrid exhalation from that filth, combined with the effluvia arising from other contaminated matter, must be destructive in all hot climates. A glaring instance of this occurred lately in *St. Domingo*.

When the French appeared off *Cape Francois*, in the beginning of February 1802, the negroes burnt the town,

which of course created a great quantity of rubbish, that fermented, and in a short time emitted an effluvia extremely obnoxious. The many negroes who were wantonly shot by order of Le Clerc, were suffered to lay and putrify in the streets and other places about the ruins, as well as the French soldiers, who shot themselves in the agony of disappointment, for there was nothing for them to plunder. Before the end of the month, the hospitals which had not been consumed in the conflagration, were very much crowded with sick soldiers afflicted with the yellow fever, which destroyed some thousands of them before the end of six months.

May not the epidemic which now prevails in this place, have its origin in a similar cause?

Some of the inhabitants, who could not conveniently leave the town, crowded to Greenwich Street, on the north side; but the fever soon manifested that no part was free from its destructive grasp. I was one day in Front Street: near the lower end I observed the sick-cart belonging to *Bellevue* hospital. Having approached near enough on the opposite side of the street, I heard a female in distress, saying,—"*For God's sake, do not take me away,—I am not ill,—I have no fever,—it is only a slight indisposition.*" The ruffians dragged her out, and forced her into the cart. They were a couple of Irishmen. I asked one of them what he meant to do with the young lady. He replied,—"*In troth, your honor, we are only going to take her to the hospital, that's all.*" But then, said I, if she is not affected with the fever, it is extremely cruel to treat her in this barbarous manner. The other replied,—"*That they must obey their orders, and take her away whether she had the fever or not.*"

Upon further inquiry, I learnt that this young lady had lately arrived from *Ireland* with her father and mother: the former had gone to the back country to purchase a farm, and provide for the reception of his family; and the latter, who had been for some time in ill-health, died soon after her husband's departure.

This young lady, in a foreign country, destitute of friends to sympathise with her, took the loss of her mother so much to heart, that she became melancholy. She not knowing where to go when the fever broke out, rendered her situation peculiarly distressing; and the inhuman monsters in the house where she lodged, willing to get rid of her in any way, informed the Health Committee that she had the fever; and of course was instantly dragged away, without the least ceremony or delicacy.

During my travels in the *United States*, I have seen too many instances of the extreme want of charity in the people of the country. A stranger need not, therefore, expect to find them endued with those godlike sentiments, emanating from the dictates of christianity: the woes of the distressed would as soon move the feelings of a crocodile. I need not go further than this place to prove that christianity, and every remnant of its benign influence, seem to be rapidly vanishing. The Clintonian, or more properly speaking, the Jacobin faction who compose the political majority of this State, have their constitutional priests, who preach against the christian doctrine, so we may anticipate, that in a short time deism will be the predominant religion*.

* Soon after this letter was written, the following Bill was laid before the Legislative Body of *Virginia*.

"*An act to amend an act, to reduce into one, the several acts concerning Slaves, Negroes and Mulattoes.*

"WHEREAS it is represented to the General Assembly, that it is a common practice in many places within the commonwealth, for

With respect to the arts and sciences little can be said; the people in general have no taste, and the rest are too sordid to encourage their cultivation. The Americans boast of the rapid increase of the polite arts, and impose on the credulity of all *Europe*. It is true, there is a literary society in this city, but it is, for the most part, composed of a pompous set of sprigs, attornies, their apprentices, and clerks, who have stated meetings to smoke segars and drink grog; and, if smoking a

Slaves, Free Negroes and Mulattoes, to assemble in considerable numbers at meeting houses, and places of religious worship, in the night, which may have a tendency to promote conspiracy and insurrection.

"Be it therefore enacted—That all meetings or assemblies of Slaves, Free Negroes or Mulattoes, at any meeting-house or houses, or any other place or places in the night, under any pretence whatever, shall be deemed and considered as an unlawful assembly. And that it shall be the duty of any Magistrate of the county or corporation, where such assembly shall be, either from his own knowledge or the information of others, of such unlawful assembly or meeting, to issue his warrant, directed to any sworn officer or officers, authorising him or them to enter the house or houses where such unlawful meetings are, for the purpose of apprehending or dispersing the Slaves, Free Negroes and Mulattoes, and to inflict corporal punishment on the offender or offenders, at his discretion, not exceeding twenty lashes.

"And be it further enacted—That the said officer or officers, shall have power to summon any person to aid and assist in the execution of any warrant or warrants directed to him or them, for the purposes aforesaid, who on refusal, shall be subject to a fine, at the discretion of the magistrate, not exceeding ten dollars.

"All acts, or parts of acts, coming within the purview of this act, shall be, and is hereby repealed.

"This act shall be in force, from and after the passing thereof."

This, gentle reader, is emphatically the state of *liberty* and *equality*, the liberty of whipping the blacks for attending religious evening lectures.

segar, be a literary qualification, they may certainly be ranked as the first society in the world*.

The American newspapers do not indicate any refinement in literature; on the contrary, they daily exhibit such low vulgarity, as must tend to degrade the country in the estimation of foreigners, and have a pernicious effect on the morals of the inhabitants.

The first newspaper publised in *America*, was the *Boston* News-Letter, on the 24th of April, 1704; the second one, on the 22d of December, 1719, at *Philadelphia*, entitled the *American* Weekly Mercury. In the year 1774, the number increased to twenty-five, and in the year 1801, to more than one hundred and eighty, which are circulated, free of postage, from *Georgia*, to the Province of *Maine*. The leading party papers, supporting the political sentiments of the President, are the Aurora, published in *Philadelphia*, and the Citizen, published in this city. The former is conducted by a person of the name of Duane, an Irishman, who escaped the

* Bonaparte has lately become a member of this literary society: he will, no doubt, make it more conspicuous, and add something new to the art of *smoking!* The following is a copy of his letter:

"MALMAISON, *Germinal* 20,—*Year* 12.

"I have learned with interest by your letter of the 24th December, 1803, the establishment of a literary society of *New York*; and since it has been agreeable to your academy that I should be one of its members, you will make known to it the pleasure with which I accept, and that I am grateful for the good opinion it has of me.

"I salute you,

"BONAPARTE,

"Mr. Edward Livingston,
"President of the Academy of Arts,
'*New York.*"

gallows in *England*, and the latter by one Cheethum, formerly a hatter in *Manchester*, who fled from thence in the year 1797-8 for sedition, and was conveyed on board an American ship at *Liverpool*, in a chest. These are the instruments who dictate to a majority of the *United States*, and are the present *ornaments* of the *American* press. The Americans pretend to say, that the many thousand outcasts who have fled from *Europe*, to take refuge among them, have given a contaminated feature to the American character, with regard to faith and honor; but if we look beyond the period of their independence, we shall find that their faith and honor has long been the subject of complaint. The Archives of the Board of Trade, whose presses are loaded with complaints and memorials against American injustice and chicane, will furnish ample proofs. These complaints, about one hundred and eight years ago, gave rise to a declaratory law, the 7th and 8th of William the Third. But this act did not restrain them, for at that time there was no country in the world that could boast of so many law-suits, or so much barefaced chicane, for the law was then as it is now, their general study. It would be endless to state the different means to which they resorted, to deceive the British creditor. Volumes would not contain them. In the year 1732, the merchants of *Great Britain*, finding themselves so shamefully duped of their property, petitioned parliament for redress, and obtained a second act, which contained special clauses for defeating the schemes of their ingenious friends, the Americans: however, they were even then so fertile in invention, so fruitful in the arts of deception, as to defeat the intention of this supposed salutary act by perjury. Since that period perjury became, as it were, a privilege. A subsequent act was obtained, to put an effectual stop to American subtlety;

but this act shared the same fate with the rest; all the acts in the universe would not compel them to do justice to the British creditor.

Prior to their revolution, as they term it, the common custom was, when a British creditor sued his debtor, the latter found means to procrastinate the suit to an inordinate length, which it seems these people, so expert in the knowledge of the law, discovered the art of doing with a small expence; but when they could not ward off the evil day of execution any longer, and their effects must be sold, their last resource was to get a friend to buy them back again at *Vendue*, in which case the *worthies*, or, as the celebrated Edmund Burke called them, "good men and true," were sure of being "true" to each other in defrauding the *common enemy*, as they then styled the British.

The same practice has been followed ever since. A young man serves a while in a store, that has kept up its credit and reputation with some of the merchants and manufacturers of *England*. This young man embarks for either *London* or *Liverpool*, loaded with letters of introduction; and in consequence of these letters, he returns with a great quantity of goods on credit. He may find it convenient to make good the first and second payment agreeable to the time stipulated, which he is enabled to do, by sacrificing part of his goods at public *vendue*. In consequence of this, he procures a double quantity of goods, for which he never intends to remit, but disposes of them with as little loss as possible. The term of payment comes, and the British creditor is anxiously looking out in vain for a remittance. After a while, powers of attorney arrive from *England*, and are acted upon. Executions being out against him, he takes [illegible] limits, whence there is little difficulty

in getting extricated. As the laws are so very favorable, he takes the advantage of the three-fourth act, by which means he is soon enabled to retire from the limits with a large fortune,—a fortune, which the laws of his country have put in his power, by defrauding the British merchants and manufacturers. This, Sir, is the most common and readiest way of making a fortune in *America*, of which many hundreds have availed themselves, and which they deem meritorious.

There is another source of vexation which I wish to point out, in order that it may be clearly understood. The American captains encourage, as much as they possibly can, the desertion of the British seamen. When they get here, they can at any time be made citizens for the value of a dollar each, which is given to a person, who makes oath that they, or any of them, were born in the *United States:* upon this the collector of the customs grants a protection; and should they happen to be pressed, they are claimed by the government as American citizens.

About the beginning of September, Citizen Jerome Bonaparte arrived in *Philadelphia*, and made a splendid appearance driving about every day with a curricle and pair. A paragraph, inserted in the *Philadelphia* Gazette, insinuated that it was the same of which he had robbed a Mr. Myers, at *Cape Francois*, in February 1801. That such robbery had been committed, was flatly denied by Citizen Jerome's friends: and the editor of the gazette, willing to substantiate his original assertion, said that he should feel happy if the implicated person, or any of his friends, would satisfy the public of his innocence, but at the same time, he knew an English gentleman at *New York*, who was present at the time the robbery was committed. Under these circumstances, I addressed the following letter to the editor, which he published:

"NEW YORK, 15th *September*, 1803.

"SIR,

"I am much surprised that any person would be found to deny the robbery which Citizen Jerome Bonaparte committed, in the seizure of the curricle belonging to the late Mr. Jacob Myers, at *Cape Francois*;—if it was not a robbery, it was an abandoned deviation from justice. I was at the *Cape* at the time, and saw Citizen Jerome order it out of Mr Suckley's store, where it was deposited, and rode away in it, accompanied by his sister, Madame Le Clerc.—It was never returned to Mr. Myers, nor the value of it; but the citizen may say he acted according to the French commandment:

"Covet and take whatever you see,
"French liberty makes all things free."

About the middle of this month, the fever, after having swept away several hundreds, began to abate. It is deplorable to reflect, that this State, which composes a wealthy and respectable portion of the Continent, seems to be doomed to endure something more than its portion of natural and political evil. We find her capitol periodically scourged, by the visitation of a dreadful and destructive malady, and her internal tranquillity perpetually disturbed, by all the angry and malignant passions which spring from the base and perverse spirit of party. No where in *America* does the fire of faction and calumny rage with such ungovernable fury. Here the goddess of discord holds the fluctuating balance, malignity smiles at its perpetual vibrations, adding her torch to the fire of resentment, which consumes in its destructive progress, every moral principle and every social feeling; the ties of friendship, consanguinity, and every domestic enjoyment are destroyed in the dreadful conflagration. Every day brings forth some new incentive to wrath, and mingles fresh gall in the bitter cup of resentment.

Vale.

LETTER XX.

A Cursory View of the Historical Events in St. Domingo, *from the year* 1790 *till* 1802.

New York, *December*, 1803.

DEAR SIR,

SOME time ago, vague accounts reached me of the death of my much lamented friend General Toussaint. Although it is not, by any means, a continuation of the subject I have been attempting to delineate, yet I cannot resist the temptation of giving you an abridgement of my travels in the island of which he was governor, where I had the opportunity of being acquainted with one of the best of men, that ever governed a kingdom or a colony—whose character will form a striking contrast with those of Picton or Hood, the remembrance of whom I wish to expunge from my imagination.

Nothing of any consequence can be said of my friend Toussaint till the early period of the French revolution, when the endeavours of *Les Amis des Noirs*, prevailed over the African slave-dealers, after a contest of five years; when the moral and physical evils of that disgraceful traffic were fully developed and ascertained to the French people. The conviction of truth was then followed by a glow of honest indignation, and the voice of the people

called upon their legislators to wash away the national stain.

At this time all was tranquil, at least as tranquil as a state of oppression would permit; but, political tranquility can only be enjoyed in a country that is blessed with a free constitution. The situation of the American colonies is very different: in all instances it is that of a paralytic—one part torpid, whilst the other is affected with the frantic motions of St. Vitus's dance. The first interference of the national assembly in the affair of the colonies, was by a decree of the 8th March, 1790, which declared, that all free persons, who were proprietors, and residents of two years standing, and who contributed to the exigencies of the state, should exercise the rights of voting, which constituted the quality of French citizen. Then a large portion of the proprietors or planters of St. Domingo, consisted of free people of colour, or those who had some mixture of African blood. This description comprehends every shade of complexion, from the slightest tinge of colour, to the original hue of the native African. Though many of that class were distinguished by their wealth, talents and integrity, yet the whites treated them with every contempt, and continually held them in a kind of proscription. Although the decree already mentioned, confirmed the edict of Louis XIV. in the year 1685, the whites would not admit them to share equal rights and privileges. The declaration of the rights of man, that immortal work, beneficial to enlightened men, which, if true at all, ought to be as general as day-light, was in the wretched islands, destined to give a taper light in the residence of the planter, whilst the poor and destitute negro was to sit in darkness in his hut. The people of colour appealed to common justice and common sense;—it was to no pur-

pose the whites repelled them from the association of rights;—some commotions ensued, in which they naturally fell a sacrifice to their pride and their resentment. This event produced, on the 12th October following, a second decree, which revoked in some measure the preceding one, and manifested to the unhappy slave, a more cruel fate if possible, whereby the National Assembly became an accomplice in oppression, because they sent armies of free men to maintain the reign of despotism. Peace, however, was not the consequence of this decree; new dissentions arose, assassination and revolt became frequent; *Maudit*, a French officer of rank, lost his life by the treacherous hands of his own countrymen; and *Ogee*, a planter of colour, who had exerted himself in *France* in the cause of his brethren, resolved to support their just pretension *vi et armis*. But he was taken and broken alive upon the wheel, together with twenty-five of his followers, in the very sight of the negroes. If the blood-thirsty sons of *Europe*, educated in the habits of improved society, and affecting to feel the precepts of a mild and merciful religion, can forget this themselves, and insult their own nature, ought they to wonder that the African should imitate the pattern, and if possible improve upon their example? The horrors of the unfortunate Ogee's death, was the harbinger of future crimes. In the mean time, the National Assembly found it necessary to decide between the contending parties, and on the 15th May, 1791, passed a third decree, consisting of two articles, the first of which went so far as to give a confirmation to that of the 12th October, and the second, decided upon a right the people of colour enjoyed for upwards of a century; but this, instead of restoring peace, was the cause of all the subsequent evils *St. Domingo* has sustained, for on the arrival of the decree, the

whites were struck with consternation;—they became frantic, and pledged to sacrifice their lives, rather than suffer its operation. The result of their rage, which indeed bordered on phrenzy, was a proposal to incarcerate the French merchants—to tear down the national flag, to hoist the British standard—to kill and destroy their opponents, who had before this fled for refuge to their friends in the interior. During the whole of this period, the slaves (as they were then called) remained in their accustomed state of subordination; nor was it till the month of August 1791, that the least symptom of insurrection appeared amongst them, though a considerable number of other parties had lost their lives. It must, however, be confessed, Toussaint was one of the few who felt convinced, that no alleviation of the miseries they sustained was ever to be anticipated from the European tyrants; hence, he was well aware that the present crisis was the only opportunity of emancipating themselves; hopeless of relief, and aggravated by every species of cruelty, the plot which had already been well laid, broke out all once, like a volcano, and spread terror and desolation over the island. If the cold cruelties of despotism have no bounds, what can we expect from the paroxism of despair? Surely ample allowance ought to be made, if, in this instance enormities were committed; for they were taught the example from their oppressors, of which I beg leave to notice a sample that will freeze your very soul with horror. Here a white, (yes, a beautiful French lady,) lately plunged a negro into a burning oven—another white dashed out the brains of a child in the presence of its father—a third fed a slave with his own proper flesh. These are the monsters who have to account for the barbarity of the revolted negroes. Millions of Africans have perished on this soil of blood.—You break

at every step, the bones of the inhabitants to whom nature had given these islands, and you shudder at the retaliation of their vengeance. In this dreadful struggle, the crimes of the whites are yet the most horrible; they are the offspring of despotism, whilst those of the negroes, originate in the hatred of slavery, the thirst of vengeance. In the forcible violation of female chastity, we trace the most detestable extremes of brutality, and, in the estimation of sensibility, the loss of life is preferable to its disgrace; but modesty is not confined to the capacity of a blush, nor sensibility to a particular form and feature. Let this account then be settled by the inhuman slave-dealer, or the imperious planter, who compelled to his depraved embrace, the unwilling object of his lust, the exasperated slave, who gratifies by this hateful act, not his sensibility, but his resentment.

Have human crimes their origin and causes in human affairs? Or are they incited by some malignant demon, who possessing himself of that cup of affection, the human heart, pours out its contents, and fills it with poison? Alas! we vainly seek in fable the apology of their depravity; and unhappily the causes of these transactions, which would scarce meet credibility on any other part of the globe, are in these regions of guilt too apparent.

Avoiding the repetition of such disgusting barbarities, permit me to take a cursory view of the subsequent events in which Toussaint himself bore the principal share. Soon after the war broke out between *England* and *France*, a few treacherous whites went to *Jamaica*, and represented to the governor of that island, how easily *St. Domingo* might be conquered, but after *four years experience, the loss of thirty-three thousand men, and about forty millions sterling*, they were forced to abandon the shores of *St. Domingo*. During that period, the negroes held

the possession of the north, and the people of colour held that of the south with the barbarian Rigaud at their head, who aimed at supreme authority. This Toussaint could not reconcile to himself, because he knew the mulattoes to be more cruel, if possible, than the whites, therefore thought it advisable, with the concurrent voice of his fellow-soldiers, to contest every inch of ground with them. In this he succeeded, and restored tranquility to the island, which had been for ten years a prey to the horrors of faction. He declared solemnly, whilst he was in command, he did all that was in his power to bring back happiness to his countrymen.—Forced to fight against the internal and external enemies of the French republic, he made war with courage, honor and loyalty. Towards his bitterest enemies he never swerved from the rules of justice; and if he used all the means that were in his power to conquer, he sought as much as he could, to allay the horrors of war, and spare human blood. He held always as a principle, the forgiveness of offences, as the first and most prominent sentiment of humanity;—and after victory, he received as friends and brothers, those who the day before were under the enemy's colours. By the oblivion of errors and faults, he wished to cause the lawful and sacred cause of liberty to be revered, even by its vilest enemies. He constantly made his brethren in arms, both generals and officers, remember that the distinction they were raised to, ought to be considered but the reward of honor, courage, and unblemished conduct in private life; having been raised above their countrymen, the more prudent and circumspect all their actions ought to be;—that the misconduct of public men brought on society more fatal consequences than that of other citizens;—that the honors and offices they were invested with, were

given to them, not to promote their fortunes, or serve their ambition, but had for their motive and object the public welfare; that they imposed on them public duties to be fulfilled, before they should think of themselves, that impartiality and justice ought to dictate all their decisions;—that they ought to repress all vices, continually stimulating their activity, watchfulness and zeal.—He explained to them the holy maxims of religion, to prove that man is nothing without the power and will of God, that the duties of a christian ought never to be neglected; and that when a man sported with Providence, he ought to anticipate a dreadful death.

In several of his proclamations, he pointed out the duties of fathers and mothers towards their children, and the obligation imposed upon them, to direct their early attention to the love and fear of God;—having always regarded religion as the basis of all virtues, and the foundation of happiness in society. In effect, who have caused the greatest misfortunes in this colony? Men without religion or any moral sentiment. Such was General Moyse. What did not Toussaint do to bring him back again to virtue, justice and kindness?—to change his vicious inclinations, and to rescue him from falling headlong into the abyss of destruction? God knows it. Instead of listening to the advice of a father, obeying the orders of a chief, devoted to the happiness of the colony, he was guided only by his own passions, following his hateful inclinations, and he perished in a wretched manner; the reward of treachery. The justice of heaven is slow, but infallible; sooner or later it strikes the wicked, and like a thunderbolt, crushes them to pieces.

I shall not dilate on this part of his conduct any longer, but pass on to depict the reward he received for his well known fidelity towards *France*. The Chief Consul of

France never intimated to him, that he concluded a peace with his enemies, though he had plenty of time, if he felt so inclined. Toussaint was apprised of his intentions only through the means of the American papers; but on such reports he placed no dependence, as it appeared incredible to send so large a force to a peaceable colony, unless it was to reduce the brave Haytians again to slavery. Toussaint was tossed on the billows of uncertainty: but when he reflected a little, and contemplated on the *Netherlands*, the first victims of fraternization, stripped even of a name among the nations, groaning under every species of oppression, their property plundered, their persons enslaved, their rights subverted, their altars overturned, their temples ruined, and, under the pressure of real, not imaginary evils, they have now nothing to console them but the reiterated grievances of forced requisitions, and of co-active conscriptions. Again, *Holland*, the Frenchified *Batavia!* once the proud rival of *England*, alas! how fallen!—how degraded in the scale of nations! The pestilential contagion of French principles has sapped the foundation of humanity, religion, and morality; has completely changed the national character, and left the deluded Hollanders hardly the shadow of what they were. His view next extended to the virtuous Swiss, whom a rigid neutrality was unable to save. Circumvented and overpowered by the maddening mass of *France*, their patriotic struggles availed nothing,—their religion, their liberty, their independence, and their government, perished amongst a sea of blood. *Savoy*, once the residence of the heroic and the brave, now depending for existence on the breath of *France*. *Venice* and *Genoa*, each in their turn mistress of the ocean, now the fatal victims of her delusive promises. The manly and honorable character

of *Spain* is also dwindled into a crouching servility. The black eagle of *Prussia*, and even the imperial eagle, are eager to get trampled under the foot of the Corsican."

Having such strong examples as these before his eyes, Toussaint began to think badly of the First Consul's intentions, and advised his general officers, whatever became of him, to cherish and increase the sacred flame which warmed their breasts,—to unite heart and hand in defending their country against her open enemies, as well as against her pretended friends. In the mean time, the formidable expedition, fondly anticipated by the treacherous whites, who frequently felt his protecting hand, arrived;—it consisted of twenty-three ships of war, together with transports, having 25,000 troops on board. So large a force alarmed him——What could be their object? To plunder and enslave the Haytians, in order to fill the coffers of the Republic——Republic did I say?—It is an irrational, unprincipled, proscribing, confiscating, plundering, ferocious, bloody, and tyrannical democracy! For two or three days they did not attempt to land. Their commander, Le Clerc, says in a letter to the Minister of Marine, that this procrastination was owing to the dictates of humanity; but his subsequent conduct in the indiscriminate murdering and drowning so many of the Haytians, manifestly proves that humanity was not his motive.

The first step Le Clerc took, was that of sending an insulting letter to General Christophé, informing him that *France* had sent a force sufficiently strong to crush the rebels, if there were any to be found in *St. Domingo;* and concluding with a silly indignation in these words:—"Remember, I consider you responsible for whatever may happen;" requesting at the same time the surrender of the *Cape.* With this threatening letter came a short

proclamation, addressed to the inhabitants of *St. Domingo*, from the Usurper, written in pompous language, inviting them to a fraternal hug with his brother-in-law. In case of resistance, he says:—"*Rally round the Captain-General,—he restores you abundance and peace,—rally round him. He who shall dare to separate himself from the Captain-General, will be a traitor to his country, and the vengeance of the Republic shall devour him as fire devours your dried canes.*" It requires very little penetration to discover the hypocrisy which is artfully portrayed in the proclamation. The Haytians stood not in need of either peace or plenty, much less the fostering hand of the Corsican. They were happy, and blessed with prosperity and abundance. It would have been much more candid of the Corsican to tell them,—"*the Captain-General carries with him a horde of plundering cut-throats, and a sufficient quantity of chains, to restore you to your former state of slavery!*" This was General Christophe's prediction, which was fully verified by a subsequent proclamation, setting forth that the citizens of *St. Domingo* are deprived of the blessings of freedom, and reduced to the horrors of slavery; which placed the Usurper's hypocrisy beyond a single doubt, and may be seen by having recourse to the original, wherein he says:—"If it should be told you that these forces are intended to tear from you your liberty,—Answer—The Republic has given us liberty,—the Republic will not suffer that it should be taken from us!" 'Tis false! the Republic did not give them liberty.

"Do but observe the face of villainy,
How different from the brow of innocence!
See what a settled gloom obscures his visage,
Sure emblem of the horror of his breast,
Where his false heart, enthron'd in native darkness

(Unconscious and unwishing for the light),
Broods o'er new treasons, and enjoys the mischief!"

Political subordination, however hateful to a liberal mind, is as bright as day when compared to the dark and hopeless bondage of the negro; a bondage that combines the pangs of intellectual misery, with the sufferings of a brute; and under that impression, Toussaint's brave colleagues were averse to submit to the subordination of the European freebooters; more especially as they could not conjecture their views with so large an armament, and only about three hundred dollars in their military chest to provide for their wants. It was however probable, that the fruitful genius of Bonaparte, had found out Augustus's secret, (said to be lost for ages) who maintained forty legions for twelve millions of livres (half a million sterling) per annum.

"An ill guided authority undertakes more than it can execute. This is the rock on which governments split, where, not knowing themselves, or wilfully misunderstanding their boundaries, they aim at the extension of the latter by a natural but dangerous propensity." Bonaparte, when he fitted out the formidable expedition, undertook more than he was qualified, with all the force of *France* to execute, if he meant to reduce the people of *St. Domingo* to slavish degradation. With all his sagacity and military knowledge, he, fortunately for the western hemisphere, mistook the character of the negroes; they were no longer a horde of runaway slaves. No, they were united together in the bonds of an indissoluble freedom, and had been a considerable time in the actual enjoyment of it, therefore they were not to be hoodwinked by the shallow manœuvres of the upstart Ruler.

With regard to Toussaint, he was considerably mortified at the conduct of the Corsican, particularly in not

apprising him of the late peace with *England*, with an assurance that the liberty and independence of the Haytians would be confirmed, as their just recompence for preserving the island from the British. On the contrary, those tidings were the flower of the fleets of *France*, *Spain*, and *Holland*, with 25,000 of the sacrilegious plunderers of *Italy*, *Malta* and *Egypt*. These were the monsters sent by the Corsican to tell the Haytians that they came as friends and brothers, to secure the safety of the island from all external as well as internal enemies, when *France* was at peace with all the world! Why not send them whilst the storm of war from without and within beat upon them? Was it that the great nation found them able to protect themselves, and defend the island from all its enemies?—Suspicious ministers of peace. According to these considerations, the brave Toussaint feared God only,—if death ensued, he was determined to die like a soldier of honor on the field of battle, but unfortunately, he ultimately yielded to the persuasive claims of his children, which I shall notice in due order. To proceed, General Christophé informed Toussaint by a messenger of the unexpected appearance of their pretended friends, whereupon he immediately transmitted orders to harass them as much as possible. In executing these orders, it became absolutely necessary to destroy every place capable of affording shelter, which would expose them to the fatal effects of the climate;—but in the mean time, had not Le Clerc been intimidated through fear, he might have saved the *Cape* from devastation, though the inhabitants would have less consolation, as he meant to have laid them under heavy contributions, agreeable to the usage of freebooters. Every soldier in his army was promised an equal share of plunder, as the accustomed reward of valour, before they embarked;

disappointed, many of them put an end to their existence standing in the ranks. *Argumentum ad hominem*, that they had no other intention than pillage for themselves, and chains for the Haytians.

The plunderers of *Italy* landed without any opposition, exceedingly mortified that there was no pillage to be had to stimulate their exertions. Indeed it was vexatious to think what a way they came, buoyed with the hopes of gain, and to be thus miserably disappointed. Le Clerc felt awkward that he could not make good the promise of his brother-in-law. One morning before they penetrated into the interior, they were reviewed, when he thus addressed them:

"SOLDIERS,

"THE government of *France* has sent us here to protect the inhabitants, to establish order, and to preserve them the colony of *St. Domingo*. The rebellion of Toussaint is evident. The campaign against the rebels shall be instantly opened. Be provident of your provision and ammunition; seventy cartridges have just been distributed to each man. Against such brigands we need only use the bayonet. In six weeks the colony will be ours."

This address proves Le Clerc to have been a silly, ignorant, contemptible coxcomb. One would suppose that he might have known (if he knew any thing), that to despise an enemy is not the shortest way to conquer; and man fighting for his freedom, of whatever nation or complexion, is no contemptible foe. The fact is, his conduct became so reprehensible, that he died broken hearted, after committing all the mischiefs which were in his power.

Soon after the force in question landed, Le Clerc sent Toussaint his children, who had been in *France* for their education, and were detained there by the Corsican for

a considerable time against their will—I say he sent them to persuade Toussaint to surrender himself unconditionally, with a promise of making him his Lieutenant-Governor, but he well knew how far French promises would extend, that they could not be trusted for a moment, no faith whatever could be placed on either the word or honour of the present ruler, or his adherents; for whenever it suits them, they will break even the most solemn;—men who have discarded every moral restraint, who could trust them? Toussaint however, in an evil hour, gave his children leave to return, with an assurance that he would always submit, having nothing in view but the prosperity of the colony; at the same time, he could not answer for the wishes of those who were formerly under his command, as they were now at liberty to think for themselves. Upon receipt of this message, the wretched tool of usurped power, issued a vaunting proclamation, to delude his ill-fated horde of plunderers, wherein he says, "I am entering the field, and soon shall I convince this rebel what the power of the French government is." We have since been fully convinced of the guilty power of the regicide government, and that there is neither a moral nor physical probability of enslaving the Haytians. He concludes this deceitful proclamation thus;—"I have promised liberty to the inhabitants of *St. Domingo*;—I know how to make my promise good. I shall cause persons and property to be protected!!!" Yes, sad experience can best tell how he kept this promise; did he not, instead of giving liberty, murder and drown sixty thousand of the innocent inhabitants?—French liberty to be sure.

> "No more are you forbid to kill,
> Cut throats, and murder who you will."

Agreeably to the true style of French liberty, Le Clerc seized on 25,000 dollars belonging to a Mr. Low, an American; which act of injustice caused that gentleman to put an end to his own existence. The next was seizing on all the American property he could grasp at. Some, indeed, he paid with bills on the Usurper, a considerable number of which will never be liquidated, together with the contributions he levied on the wretched inhabitants; and the murder and imprisonment of some of them, will clearly evince how far he "respected persons and properties." The guilty delegate of the insolent Usurper brought with him in his train from *France*, Rigaud, and the remnant of his adherents, who had always acted in concert to deprive the blacks of their natural rights, which seemed to confirm the suspicious views of the Corsican. These vagabonds went to the south part of the island, where Rigaud quarrelled with La Plume, one of Toussaint's generals, who had by this time politically surrendered: the former was therefore arrested and sent back to *France* with his family.

We now find the officers of this plundering horde highly exasperated against the United States of *America*; giving that country the whole blame of Toussaint's disobedience. In their rage they developed that the First Consul would send an army to *New Orleans*, which would give laws to the *United States*. Since that period *England* has declared war against the Usurper, which prevented the army boasted of from going there; and therefore he sold that territory to the Americans, which will answer equally as well, for the *cut-throats of* New Orleans, *will yet, inevitably, give laws to the* United States!

About the 28th of April, 1802, Toussaint surrendered with the whole force under his command, through the intercession of his wife and children, under the idea of

being well treated by Le Clerc, from whom he received a letter, expressing the pleasure he felt at his submitting to the arms of the Republic, wherein he says:—"You, General, and the troops under your command, as well as the inhabitants of the Colony who are with you, need be under no apprehension of any past transactions. I will draw a veil of oblivion over all that has happened before and since my arrival in *St. Domingo*. In this I imitate the example which the First Consul gave to *France* after 18th Brumaire. I leave you perfectly free to retire to any one of your dwellings which you may think the most expedient. I have such confidence in your attachment to the Colony, as to expect, that the leisure hours you will enjoy during your retreat, will be employed in communicating to me your views and sentiments respecting the measures most proper to be pursued, to renovate the agriculture and commerce of this country." The above is certainly very fair and very pleasant language, suited to give currency to contrary proceedings! Who could blame Le Clerc for want of candor, because it was not in his power to speak truth? He who would take the trouble of looking over his mandates, arrets, and proclamations, would find himself strongly inclined to mirth, was it not repressed by indignation; did not false professions, and ridiculous assertions excite the strongest emotions of contempt for his duplicity and the detestable principles he acted upon.

About a month after Toussaint surrendered, he returned, with permission of the perfidious Captain-General, to his plantation near *Goniaves*, but had been there but a few days, when he was arrested by a party of ruffians, and carried on board the Creole frigate, which conveyed him to *France*. I am entirely ignorant of the motives which prompted Le Clerc to commit this outrage against

Toussaint's liberty, and have no further knowledge of it than what he sets forth in a laconic address.

LIBERTY. *EQUALITY.*

ARMY OF ST. DOMINGO.

THE GENERAL-IN-CHIEF TO THE CITIZENS OF ST. DOMINGO.

Citizens!

"GENERAL Toussaint did not wish to enjoy the amnesty which had been granted to him. He has continued to conspire. He was just going to re-kindle a civil war. I thought it was necessary to have him arrested. The proofs of his treachery since the amnesty, will soon be published. This measure, which insures peace to the Colony, ought not in any way to make uneasy those who have laid down their arms, and submitted themselves with good faith to the Republic.

"Head Quarters, at the *Cape*, 20th Prairial (June 8th), 10th year of the French Republic.

"LE CLERC."

I defy even the most malignant calumniator, the most malicious miscreant of Bonaparte's adherents or advocates, to produce the least proof of Toussaint's treacherous behaviour since the amnesty, which was granted to him by Le Clerc. It is a great consolation to me to think that his life is unstained either with requisitions or robberies, much less gross perjuries,—those wanton massacres, those cold-blooded murthers, which have invariably marked the destructive progress of all the French generals since the revolution. No proof of his treachery has yet been published; but this measure, instead of insuring the submission of his followers, prompted them to

regain their independence. Their Chief thus treated, what had they to expect,—but hopeless bondage?

"You see, immortal inmates of the skies,
How this vile wretch Almighty pow'r defies;
His daring crimes, the blood which he has spilt,
Demand a torrent equal to his guilt."

Le Clerc now carried on a mode of warfare at which humanity revolts with indignation, and proves, if any proof is yet wanting, that he was a cruel tyrannical monster. He imported a number of blood-hounds from *Cuba*, in addition to those he brought from *France*. With all this auxiliary force, he was unable to conquer those who were in arms against him. Be it, however, remembered, that the malignity of his conduct towards the prisoners he took was still more horrid than what is recorded of the greatest barbarians. Some of the wretched prisoners were crowded in the hold of a vessel, and were suffocated with brimstone and charcoal. Others again were sewed in sacks, and consigned alive to the deep. Ten thousand at least were in this manner basely destroyed by the blood-thirsty minion of democracy. Seeing his schemes thwarted and overturned, hopeless of chaining the brave Haytians, together with the remorse he felt, soon ended his guilty career. May every tyrant speedily follow him, to give the world repose.

General Rochambeau succeeded him in command. His views were altogether bent on plunder, and indiscriminate cruelty, which bears the deepest feature of this atrocious character. He was better versed in the arts of destruction than his predecessor, for he had been a student under the cut-throat Santhonax, one of the greatest villains to which the revolution gave birth; therefore knew how

to improve upon the barbarity of his tutor. He neglected no opportunity to murder and destroy both blacks and mulattoes. At *Port Republicain, Leogan, Petit-Guave,* and *Jeremie,* he destroyed thousands, and would have continued his exterminating pursuits, but for the fortunate event of the war with *England,* to whose squadron he was obliged to capitulate with all the booty he plundered from the wretched (white) inhabitants, to the amount of about 100,000 dollars. In this attempt to bind the brave natives of *St. Domingo* with fetters, *France* has lost 58,000 cut-throats, and spent between thirty and forty millions of dollars.

It is stated that the virtuous Toussaint was ill treated on board the vessel on his passage to *France,* and when he arrived, he was confined in the dark loathsome dungeon of *Besancone,* where he was frequently tortured with hot iron spikes, to induce him to reveal where his supposed treasure lay concealed, but he expired under the pressure of the severest torture that ever was applied on any human being.

Vale.

APPENDIX.

N°. I.

THE FOLLOWING WAS PUBLISHED IN A DOMINICA PAPER.

MR. EDITOR, KINGSTON, *February* 17, 1802.

A PARAGRAPH of *uncommon merit* appeared in the *Saint Vincent Chronicle* of Wednesday, the 17th February. It would be unjust to give an extract from such a *beautiful* composition; you will therefore oblige me by inserting the whole paragraph, with the subsequent letter, which I have thought it my duty to write to the *worthy* author.

I am,

Mr. EDITOR,

Your Friend and constant Reader,

A LOOKER ON.

We lay with great pleasure before our readers the following address. Its being signed by most of the worthy characters in that colony, will, we trust, shew the false-

hood and malice of those reports, industriously fabricated, and circulated through these islands, "*by a certain well known set,*" to the prejudice of the able and vigilant representative of the Sovereign, in that rising and important settlement. Unfortunately, the best of men are not exempt from the attack of slander, the poet beautifully says:—

> ——— If a cherub
> Should walk this world, even defamation would,
> *Like a vile cur, bark at the angel's train.*

So are those, in exalted and arduous situations, the butts at which ignorance and detraction aim their envenomed shafts.

TO THE EDITOR

OF THE

ST. VINCENT CHRONICLE, AND WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

SIR,

IN times of degeneracy, like the present, you have presented to the contemplation of every reflecting mind, an object of the most sublime nature, and worthy of the highest praise; a disinterested writer, wielding the weapon of Truth and Genius, in defence of Virtue, wounded by the "shafts of Ignorance and Detraction."

It is impossible for me to express the pleasure I experienced from the perusal of your *elegant* paragraph of the 17th of February, where the *best of men* is most aptly introduced to elucidate the poet's imagination. I am

a lover of poetry, and though your *beautiful* quotation sufficiently substantiates your claim to erudition, I have at times regretted your not writing the whole panegyric in verse. "Poets succeed the best in fictions," said Waller to Charles the Second. You had it in your power to prove that poetry can add charms to the dignity of truth itself.

"Virtue is its own reward." No doubt you have been prompted by this philosophical principle. It is clear to me, that the self-satisfaction of such a praise-worthy deed is the only reward you have looked for; while others maintain that you have *already received something more substantial.* Nay, Sir, it is even whispered that you are about to reside in this Colony, and that your paragraph is merely intended, like a letter of introduction, to insure you a good reception. To all these insinuations, your words are sufficiently apposite. "Unfortunately, the 'best of men' are not exempt from the attacks of slander!"

How much is it to be lamented that you have said so little, where so much might have been said! "The worthy characters of *Trinidad*" speak but in general terms of him whom they voluntarily step forward to vindicate. Why did not you enlarge on the varied excellencies which they pass over so lightly? His *unaffected modesty,* no doubt, deterred you. The sensitive plant shrinks not more from the truth than he! But you ought to have been strenuous in forcing those virtues into open day, which he industriously endeavours to conceal from his dearest friends.

Alas, you have never experienced the *happiness* of living under a government like his! His *unwearied exertions* to conciliate the interest and affections of all parties, —his *condescension* and *politeness,* on all occasions, more

especially to strangers,—*the sweetness of his disposition,* was never known to have been betrayed into passion,—his *exemplary forbearance,* which suspends all opinion until both sides of the question are impartially discussed,—*slowness to convict* until confirmation, strong as proofs of holy writ, leave no doubt,—the *god-like* manner with which he mingles mercy in all his judgments,—the jealousy and vigour with which he watches over and preserves the PRIVILEGES OF BRITONS,—his total *disregard* of all *pecuniary* emolument (for it is supposed he will quit his government *poorer* than when he entered upon it),—*unequalled address* in the introduction of laws, formed on the model of ENGLISH FREEDOM, whenever he finds an opportunity,—and his *decided preference* to the CONSTITUTION OF THE MOTHER COUNTRY, above all other forms of government upon earth. These and a thousand other qualities, presented a noble field for you to have expatiated upon. You might have held him up (not as a military governor was *held up*) as an example to governors, and an *important lesson* to mankind!—The guardian of orphans, the protector of the widow, the poor man's friend, and the munificent patron of all.

I should far exceed the limits of a letter were I to enter fully into a detail of those *virtues* which it was your duty to have enlarged upon. But there is one so eminently conspicuous, that I cannot, in justice, omit it. Knowing, that a "certain well known set" have adopted means to carry on a prosecution against him, (strange that such *virtue* cannot escape the eye of public scrutiny,) he *asks no one* to vindicate his conduct; he will not even *permit* those to attest their high veneration of his character, whose over anxious zeal has twice prompted them to do so *unknown to him,* and at the hazard of his displeasure:—Conscious of his own *integrity,* he stands,

firmly and alone, on the broad basis of a *well-earned reputation!* Even now, while writing, it is more than probable, that this letter will be a source of uneasiness to him;—but what should deter me from the performance of my duty?

Permit me now, to give you a word of advice. I have an opportunity of hearing both sides of the question;—Alas, I fear this has not been your case. The service of your *distinguished friend* calls on you to arm in his defence.—I fear the cause is losing ground. Several of the "*worthy characters*" half express an unavailing wish that they had never signed any public paper but the LOYAL ADDRESS TO HIS MAJESTY! Nay, one or two have declared they signed without reading, and were confounded when their names appeared in public. However, when next you resume your pen, *in defence of virtue*, be as sparing as you can in your reflections, even on vice itself:—Let the *direct* accusations of *falsehood and malice* appear as rarely as possible; more especially, if you should not be able to *prove* what you *assert*. You and I may agree in our opinions on this subject, but there are others (and I fear a *great and powerful majority*), who think and speak in a different manner. And, when I hear gentlemen of honor, respectability, and good sense, express their sentiments in the following manner:—"I heartily wish you had left the epithet *ignorance* out of your paragraph. We know not, nor is it worth the enquiry, who is the author of the contemptible paragraph of February 17th, in the St. Vincent Chronicle: but whoever he is, we would advise him to recollect, that those whom he denominates "*a certain well known set*" are ENGLISHMEN, unused to submit to oppression, and born under a government that will not suffer the proudest connections to insult them with impunity:—NOLUMUS

LEGIS ANGLIÆ MUTARI is their motto, and their creed is the GLORIOUS BILL OF RIGHTS." For the avowal of these principles they have suffered abuse, menace, imprisonment and defamation! But they feel such violence to be as despicable as their sentiments and claims are dignified and noble:—Revering and loving the constitution of their native country, they look to that country alone, for redress; and they will accept of no vindication but the *unbought* concurrence of a BRITISH PUBLIC, and the unbiased, and just decision of a BRITISH JURY!

A LOOKER ON.

Trinidad, March 24, 1802.

APPENDIX.

No. II.

HORRORS OF WEST INDIA SLAVERY.

DURING the season of 1804, the following extract of a letter from Lord Seaforth, the Governor of *Barbadoes*, to Lord Hobart, dated at *Barbadoes*, the 18th of March, 1802, was laid on the table of the House of Commons. —"Your Lordship will observe, in the last day's proceedings of the Assembly, that the *majority of the House had taken considerable offence at a message of mine, recommending an act to be passed to make the murder of a slave felony. At present the fine for the crime is only fifteen pounds currency, or* ELEVEN POUNDS FOUR SHILLINGS STERLING."

People in general would think it scarcely possible that a stronger proof could be adduced of the deplorably unprotected condition to which the Negroes are placed in *Barbadoes*, the oldest and most civilized of our Slave Colonies, than was furnished in the above official document. In a community where even the *life* of a Negro Slave is valued at so cheap a rate, it would argue an utter ignorance of the nature of man, and of the principles by which his conduct is usually regulated, to expect that

the general treatment of Negro Slaves would be humane and lenient. This it might have been alledged was merely presumption, presumption, however, sufficiently strong to remove all doubt from unprejudiced minds:—but we are now relieved from that objection. We are no longer reduced to the necessity of making use of disputable analogies, in order, from the state of the laws respecting Slavery, to infer the probable practice; but we have that practice so graphically described, as to supersede the necessity of argumentation, and to silence the most determined stickler for *West Indian* humanity.

On the 25th of February last, a number of papers respecting the Slave Trade, were presented to the House of Commons by his Majesty, and they have since been printed. In perusing them, the attention is forcibly attracted by the continuation of the correspondence between Lord Seaforth and the Secretary of State. On the 13th of November, 1804, his Lordship thus writes to Earl Camden.

"I inclose four papers containing, from different quarters, reports on the horrid murders I mentioned in some former letters. *They are selected from a great number,* among which there is not one in contradiction of the horrible facts, though several of the letters are very concise and defective. The truth is, that nothing has given me more trouble than to get at the bottom of these businesses, *so horribly absurd are the prejudices of the people,*" (not of one or two, or a few individuals, but of the PEOPLE.) "However, a great part of my object is answered by the alarm my interference has excited, and the attention it has called to the business. Bills are already prepared to make murder felony *; *but I fear they*

* What a strange state of society must that be in which murder is not yet considered as a felonious act, nay, in which the attempt to

will be thrown out for the present in the Assembly. The Council are unanimous in favour of humanity."

In a subsequent letter, dated the 7th of January, 1805, Lord Seaforth thus writes—" I inclose the Attorney-General's letter to me on the subject of the Negroes *so most wantonly murdered.* I am sorry to say SEVERAL OTHER INSTANCES OF THE SAME BARBARITY have occurred, with which I have not troubled your Lordship, as *I only wished to make you acquainted with the subject in general.*"

The letters to which Lord Seaforth refers, and which accompany the above extracts, are from four of the most respectable individuals in the Island of *Barbadoes*, viz. Mr. INCE, *the President of the Council;*—MR. COULTHURST, *the Advocate-General;*—MR. BECCLES, *the Attorney-General;*—and the Reverend Mr. PILGRIM.—These gentlemen all agree in the material facts of the cases which they state. It would, therefore, be an unnecessary repetition to transcribe the whole of their letters:—it will be sufficient to give the substance of the statements which they contain.

1. On the 10th of April, 1804, a militia man of the name of Halls, of the St. Michael's regiment, returning from military duty, overtook on the road some Negroes who were going quietly home from their labour. When he came near he called out that he would kill them, and immediately began to run after them. The Negroes not supposing that he really intended to do them any injury, and imagining that he was in joke, did not endeavour to escape, but merely made way for him. The person nearest to him happened to be a woman, the property of a Mr. Clarke, the owner of Simmon's estate, who is stated to have been a valuable Slave, the mother of five or six

make it felony is resisted, not by the lawless part of the community, but by the legislature itself.

children, and far advanced in pregnancy. *Without the smallest provocation of any kind,* Halls *coolly and deliberately plunged his bayonet several times into her body, when the poor creature dropped and expired without a groan.* Two gentlemen were eye witnesses of this horrid action. One of them, Mr. Harding, the manager of the Codrington College estate, went up to Halls and spoke harshly to him, and said he ought to be hanged, for he never saw a more unprovoked murder, and that he would certainly carry him before a magistrate. Halls's reply is very remarkable. "*For what?*" said he (with the utmost indifference as to the crime) "*for what?* FOR KILLING A NEGRO!!!" This is a short but a significant sentence, strongly confirming an important truth which has frequently been asserted, viz. that the Negroes are regarded by their white skinned oppressors as an inferior order of beings, and, under the influence of this sentiment, are naturally enough denied the common rights of humanity, and excluded from the pale of that sympathy, which a sense of a common nature and a common extraction is calculated to inspire. Mr. Harding, however, greatly to his credit, was proof against the force of Halls compendious reasoning, and having procured assistance, laid hold of him, and carried him before Mr. Justice Walton. —Mr. Justice Walton, it would appear, was not indisposed to use the authority with which he was vested, in bringing Halls to justice, but he found that "*in his situation as a magistrate, the law of the island gave him no jurisdiction or authority over him,*" and, in short, that he had no right to commit him. In this dilemma, Mr. Walton applied to the President Mr. Ince. "I told Mr. Walton," says the President in his letter from Lord Seaforth, "that I regretted, with real concern, the deficiency in our law; but that there was a penalty due to the

King in such cases," (viz. the ELEVEN POUNDS FOUR SHILLINGS mentioned above,) "and that, as Mr. Harding had sufficiently substantiated the fact, I would order him to be committed till he paid the forfeiture, or a suit should be commenced against him." Accordingly he was sent to prison. The President, however, seems to admit the illegality of this proceeding. "Perhaps my Lord," he adds, "it was a stretch of power in me to order a commitment before a recovery of the fine." It certainly was so: and Halls, without doubt, is sufficiently apprized of the circumstance. Nay, we shall not be surprized to hear that he has been able to rouse the popular feeling in his favour, as a man unjustly and illegally oppressed. To have suffered so severe a punishment as imprisonment, for so paltry an offence as that of killing a Negro, will be likely enough to excite no small degree of VIRTUOUS indignation among the Barbadians; and the danger lest such an unauthorised restriction of the freedom of individuals should grow into a precedent, will of course, call forth the most vigorous resistance. We are justified in forming this expectation by what occurred some years ago, on a similar occasion, in the neighbouring island of *St. Kitt's*, where the prosecution of a man of the name of Herbert, who had used one of his slaves with the most wanton barbarity, was not only not attended with any punishment to the offender, though the facts were clearly proved;—but was likely to have been followed by the most inconvenient and injurious effects to the prosecutor, in consequence of the popular clamour which was excited against him.

2. The second instance produced by Lord Seaforth is not inferior in atrocity to the first. A Mr. Colbeck, who lives overseer on the Cabbage-tree Plantation, in St. Lucy's parish, "*had bought a new Negro Boy out of the*

yard," (meaning the Slave Yard where Negroes are exposed to sale, in the same manner as cattle and sheep in Smithfield market,) and carried him home. Conceiving a liking to the boy, he took him into the house and made him wait at table. Mr. Crone, the overseer of Rowe's estate, which is near to Cabbage-tree Plantation, was in the habit of visiting Mr. Colbeck, *had noticed the boy, and knew him well.* A fire happening one night in the neighbourhood, Colbeck went to give his assistance, and the boy followed him. Colbeck, on his return home, missed the boy, who had lost his way, as he did not make his appearance the next day, he sent round to his neighbours, and particularly to Crone, informing them, that his African lad had strayed, that he could not speak a word of English, and possibly he might be found breaking some sugar canes, or taking something else for his support; in which case he requested they would not injure him, but send him home, and he would pay any damage the boy might have committed. After a lapse of two or three days the poor creature was discovered in a gully (or deep water course) near to Rowe's estate; and a number of Negroes were soon assembled about the place. The boy naturally terrified with the threats, the noise and the appearance of so many people, retreated into a hole in a rock, having a stone in his hand for the purpose, probably, of defence. By this time Crone, and some other white persons, had come up. *By their orders a fire was put to the hole where the boy lay, who when he began to be scorched, ran from his hiding place into a pool of water which was near.* Some of the Negroes pursued him into the pool; and the boy, it is said, threw the stone which he held in his hand at one of them. On this, two of the white men, Crone and Hollingsworth, *fired at the boy several times with shot, and*

the Negroes pelted him with stones. He was at length dragged out of the pool in a dying condition; for he had not only received several bruizes from the stones, but his breast was so pierced with the shot, that it was like a cullender. The white savages, (this is the language of Mr. Attorney Beccles,) ordered the Negroes to dig a grave. *Whilst they were digging it, the poor creature made signs of begging for water, which was not given to him: but as soon as the grave was dug, he was thrown into it and covered over,* and as is believed, WHILE YET ALIVE. Colbeck, the owner of the boy, hearing that a Negro had been killed, went to Crone to inquire into the truth of the report.—Crone *told him that a Negro had been killed and buried, but assured him it was not his, for he knew him well,* and he need not be at the trouble of opening the grave. On this, Colbeck *went away* SATISFIED. Receiving, however, further information, he returned and had the grave opened, when he found the murdered Negro to be his own. Colbeck brought his action of damages in the courts of the island against Crone and Hollingsworth.—The cause was ready to be tried, and the court had met for the purpose, when they thought proper to pay double the value of the boy, and 25l. for the use of the island, (being 5l. less than the penalty fixed by the law of 15l. currency each,) rather than suffer the business to go to a hearing. "This, I am truly sorry to say," observes the Advocate General, "*was the only punishment which could be inflicted for so barbarous and atrocious a crime.*"

This horrid recital (which is given almost in the words of the report, merely avoiding repetitions) seems to require little comment. One circumstance of it, however, may not strike the minds of some readers with its due force, although it appears to be the most affecting part of the whole case. Colbeck, it is said, on hearing that

it was not his slave who had been murdered, *went away satisfied.* O most opprobious satisfaction! The preceding part of the narrative had prepared us to expect in Colbeck some approximation to European feeling. But what is the fact? On being coolly told that a Negro had been killed and buried—told so by his neighbour, the murderer: Is he shocked? Does he express any horror or indignation on the occasion? No! he goes away *satisfied!!* Let the reader give its due weight to this one circumstance, and he will be convinced, that a state of society must exist in the *West Indies* of which, as an inhabitant of this island, he can scarcely form any adequate conception. Suppose, instead of a Negro Slave, that it had been a horse which had been thus killed. Colbeck, had his horse happened to be missing at the time, would have pursued exactly the same steps, and would have been affected in the same way as in the present instance. We may also learn, from this impressive circumstance, the value of West Indian testimony when given in favour of West Indian humanity. The moral perceptions and feelings which prevail in that quarter of the world, it will be perceived, are wholly different from those on this side of the Atlantic. It may be allowed that these men mean what they say, when they give each other the praise of humanity. But examine their standard. Who is this man of humanity? It is one who, hearing that a fellow creature had been cruelly and wantonly murdered, *goes away satisfied,* because he himself has sustained no loss by the murder!—An exception may be admitted in favour of a few men of enlightened minds: but the remark applies to *the people*—to the bulk of the community, whose prejudices are stated by Lord Seaforth to be so horribly absurd, as to resist all measures for remedying this dreadful state of things. But not to detain the

reader any longer with reasonings on this subject, let us proceed to the third case communicated by Lord Seaforth, and which, if possible, is worse than either of the foregoing.

6. A man of the name of Nowell, who lives in St. Andrew's parish, had been in the habit of behaving brutally towards his wife, and one day went so far as to lock her up in a room, and confine her in chains. A Negro woman belonging to this man, *touched with compassion for her unfortunate mistress*, undertook privately to release her. Nowell found it out, and in order to punish her, obliged her to put her tongue through a hole in a board, to which he fastened it on the opposite side with a fork, and left her in that situation for some time. He afterwards cut out her tongue nearly by the root, in consequence of which, she almost instantly died. This story, however, it is said, has been told differently;—some affirming that the poor creature is still alive, and others that she is dead. If any thing could add to the horror which the shocking barbarity of Nowell must excite, it is this doubt existing after a lapse of some months,—existing too in the minds of the Attorney-General and the Advocate-General,—as to whether the poor creature was alive or dead. Were there no means of forcing Nowell to produce her? Could no inquest have been instituted to ascertain the truth or falsehood of the reports in circulation? Is the neglect of this obvious duty, by the officers of the crown, to be attributed to the contagious influence of these prejudices, and of that shameless indifference to Negro life, which evidently pervade the people at large? Or is it to be ascribed to this, that the laws have taken from their constitutional powers. In either case, our Colonial system will stand justly chargeable with

the violation, not only of every feeling of humanity, but of every acknowledged principle of justice.

It will, doubtless, be argued, that individual instances of cruelty like those which have been cited, are no proofs of *general* inhumanity, any more than the annals of the Old Bailey can be considered as exhibiting a fair view of our national character. There is, however, this very remarkable difference in the two cases, a difference which is fatal to the argument. In this country, when we read of crimes, we read of their being followed by just retribution; by severe and exemplary punishment. In the *West Indies*, on the contrary, we not only hear of the greatest crimes escaping with impunity, but we find the laws themselves conspiring to shelter criminals from justice: we find the most respectable and enlighted part of the community sanctioning the perpetration even of murder, by their refusal to recognize the commission of it as a felonious act.

But it will be said by some West Indians, "granting the case to be in *Barbadoes* as you have represented it, it is very unfair to extend the charges of inhumanity to the Islands generally. The legislatures of all the other Islands, have by law, made the murder of a slave felony, and have besides, provided various salutary regulations for 'the protection of slaves,' which place them in a situation even of enviable security and comfort." In reply to this reasoning, it will be admitted, that the legislatures of most, if not all the Islands, *Barbadoes* excepted, have made the murder of a slave felony. It will be admitted that many regulations have been framed, which, had they been carried into execution, must have produced a beneficial result. But so far is this from having been the case, that it may be indisputably proved, that these regulations have been attended with little or no

advantage: nay, that they were intended to be operative. The proof of these assertions will be found in the papers to which so large a reference has already been made.

In the course of the last year, Earl Camden addressed letters to the governors of the different Islands, requiring answers to certain questions respecting the number of slaves in the Islands, the number of Negroes imported and exported, and respecting also the manner in which the different clauses of the acts for the protection of slaves had been executed.

To these enquiries no answer appears as yet to have been returned by the governors, either of *Jamaica* or the *Bahama Islands*. From *St. Vincent*, *Antigua*, and *Grenada*, answers have been promised; but have not yet arrived. Now it is worthy of remark, that had the different Slave Acts of these Islands been complied with, no difficulty could have arisen in making the desired returns, because nothing more would have been requisite, except ordering a copy of the public records. The cause of the delay that has taken place, in the case of the Islands which had been mentioned, will, perhaps, be best explained by the communications made to Earl Camden by Governor Provost, the Governor of *Dominica*. He states, perhaps truly, "that the legislature of the Island of *Dominica* is distinguished by laws it has passed for the encouragement of slaves;" but he adds, "*I am sorry I cannot say that they are as religiously enforced as you could wish;* however, the treatment of the Negroes depends less on the temper of the master, *whose interest in his slaves well-being is not always a sufficient check;*" a proposition which directly contradicts the clamorous assertions of the West Indian body.

In a subsequent letter dated the 17th of January, 1805, Governor Provost thus writes. "The act of the legisla-

ture, intitled, 'An Act for the Encouragent, Protection, and better Government of Slaves,' *appears to have been considered, from the day it was passed until this hour, as* A POLITICAL MEASURE, *to avert the interference of the mother country in the management of slaves.* Having said this, your Lordship will not be surprised to learn the *seventh clause of that bill has been wholly neglected.*"

Here we have honestly disclosed to us the true cause of the enactment of those Slave Laws which have gained the Colonies so much credit for humanity with the mother country, as well as the true cause of their inefficiency.—They were enacted to blind the eyes of superficial, but well meaning men in this country, and to furnish a convenient argument to the enemies of abolition. They have been inefficient, because it never was in the contemplation of those who framed them that they should be executed. It may be fairly questioned, whether a single slave in the Island of *Dominica* knew of those protecting clauses which were so loudly boasted of in this country.

The third and fourth clauses of the same act require, under pecuniary penalties, that the slaves should be convened every Sunday for divine worship, and that they should be exhorted to be baptized, and when of mature age to form christian marriages: and the reason assigned for the enactment is, that "a knowledge of the doctrines, and a due attention to the exercise of the duties, of the christian religion, would tend to improve the morals, and to advance the temporal and eternal happiness of the slaves." The reader, however, will see what an impious mockery all this parade of legislation has been, when he learns from Governor Provost that these clauses "are not carried into effect," and that no penalties have been levied for non-compliance with their provisions. The Rev. John Audain, rector of St. George's,

thus writes on the subject. "A very few even of the free-coloured people marry;—*and not one slave* since I have been here. Why they do not, I readily conceive, particularly the slaves. *Their owners do not exhort them to it.*" Yet the law requires the owners to exhort them to it, and though it is notorious that that law has, in no one instance, been complied with, it is equally notorious that its infraction has, in no one instance, been punished by enforcing the penalty.

These facts sufficiently demonstrate, that the laws for the protection of the slaves are perfectly nugatory, and do, in no degree, tend to alleviate the rigours of their unhappy condition; or to place them on a better footing as to "protection" in the other islands than that on which they stand even in *Barbadoes*.

Eighteen years have now passed since the Slave Trade question was first agitated in this country, and since West Indians have been holding out promises of ameliorating the condition of their slaves. These promises it appears, have proved altogether delusive, and so they will continue, until Parliament shall abolish the Slave Trade, and thus *oblige* West Indians to reform their horrid system.

APPENDIX.

N°. III.

General and Brigade Orders, 28th April, 1803, Port of Spain, Trinidad.

G. O. 28*th* April, 1803.

Parole, Radnor.

BRIGADE ORDERS.

DETAIL.

	S.	S.	C.	D.	P.
Artillery - - - - - - -	0	1	1	0	6
37th Regiment - - - - -	1	2	3	1	24
9th W. I. ditto - - - - -	0	3	3	0	21
12th ditto - - - - - - -	1	1	2	1	20
	2	7	9	2	74

THE 12th W. I. Regiment give the Captain for the day to-morrow.

The Hospital Guard will consist of one Serjeant, one Corporal, and six Privates, until further orders; the Sentry will be withdrawn from the house that was lately the Commissary's Store, and now occupied by Colonel Fullarton.

On the firing an alarm (three guns from the Sea Fort), the Troops will immediately form in their respective Alarm-posts, in open column, of subdivisions, with the right in front; the Picquets will immediately assemble in front of the Brigadier-General's quarters, with twenty-four rounds of ammunition, on the Captain of the day.

A Subaltern Officer of each Regiment will attend for Orders; the 37th will apply to the Ordnance Store-keeper for ball-cartridges, to complete the effective number of twenty-four rounds per man, but will not issue them except in case of alarm.

The Regiments in town, the 9th and 12th W. I. will send in Returns to the Store-keeper, of the number of ball cartridges they may respectively want to complete them to the same number; and the Ordance Store-keeper will, as soon as he gets the Returns from the above Regiments, and from the different Militia Corps, have them packed up in separate boxes, marked with the name of the Regiment in chalk, ready to deliver on an alarm. The Quarter-masters of those Regiments, on such an event, will attend, with sufficient number of men, at the place to be appointed by the Ordnance Store-keeper, to transmit the ammunition immediately to the Alarm-posts.

Captain Prevost, commanding the Royal Artillery, will have two field-pieces in readiness, to join the Picquets, whenever they are called out. The Alarm-post of the 37th Regiment is in the square at Orange-Grove Barracks; of the 9th W. I. Regiment, in front of the Hospital; and of the 12th W. I. in front of the Picquet Barracks.

Militia Orders, 28th April, 1803, Port of Spain, Trinidad.

MILITIA ORDERS.

ALARM: Three guns from the Sea Fort!!!

On the firing of an Alarm, the Trinidad Light Cavalry will assemble on the square opposite the Brigadier General's Quarters, and form on the right of the Picquets.

The other Corps of Militia will assemble on their respective Alarm-posts.

The Colonial Artillery, opposite the Old Arsenal.

The first battalion Royal Trinidad Militia, on the Esplanade opposite the Wharf;

The 1st Loyal Trinidad Militia in Brunswick-square, opposite the Church: the whole in open column, of subdivisions, with the right in front.

Captain Prevost, commanding Royal Artillery, will assign to the Colonial Artillery four four-pounders, with the necessary proportion of ammunition.

The other Corps will send in to the Ordnance Storekeeper Returns of their effective numbers, in order that twenty-four rounds per man may be packed up in portable boxes, ready to be delivered out at a moment's warning; and on the Alarm firing, the Quarter-master of these Corps will attend at the Ordnance Store-keeper's with the number of men necessary to transport the ammunition necessary to the Alarm-posts.

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